

THE PHONOLOGY
OF
NOMINAL FORMS IN JAFFNA TAMIL

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Dedicated
to the Memory
of
Arumuga Navalar (1822 - 79)
Pioneer Tamil Grammarian
of
Jaffna

ABSTRACT

In this thesis, a phonological analysis of the nominal forms in colloquial Jaffna Tamil has been presented for the first time within the framework of prosodic phonology.

INTRODUCTION

In the introduction, a short note on the Tamil language and the distribution of the Ceylon Tamil community is followed by an assessment of previous studies on Ceylon Tamil. Some relevant information about the writer's background and a theoretical outline of the model chosen for the present analysis are also given. The terms native and marginal are elucidated.

The main body of the thesis is divided into four parts.

PART I

Part one consists of Chapter 1 in which a phonetic description, in as much detail as was thought necessary, of the vowels and consonants of Jaffna Tamil is given. The phonological statements made in the succeeding chapters are based on the phonetic description given in this chapter.

PART II

In order to focus attention on the correlation between the grammatical and phonological levels of linguistic analysis, the results of the phonological analysis are presented within a grammatical framework established in Part two consisting of Chapter 2. The grammatical analysis outlined in this chapter serves as a background for the phonological statements which follow.

PART III

Part three of the thesis which presents the phonological analysis is made up of Chapters 3 to 7.

In Chapter 3, the different types of syllable and the various prosodic systems that can be set up from the phonological points of view are discussed.

The generalized structures of the stem, with emphasis on vowel grade and quantity patterns, are discussed in Chapter 4.

Some generalized observations concerning certain noteworthy phonological features of suffix structures are embodied in Chapter 5.

The salient aspects of the interrelation between stem and suffix are discussed in Chapter 6. In

addition to the discussion of junction within word-boundaries, there is an account of junction across word-boundaries.

In Chapter 7, the phonological exponents of the grammatical categories set up in Chapter 2 are discussed in detail. The phonological shape of the nominal is discussed and special attention is focussed on the formation of certain verbal nouns and nominals in qualifier position.

PART IV

Part four consists of Chapter 8 which embodies the results of instrumental techniques employed during the present analysis. The validity of the phonological notions arrived at during the course of the research was verified with the aid of three experimental devices, namely, palatography, kymography and spectrography.

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SYSTEM OF REFERENCE

Books, theses and papers are referred to by giving the author's surname. This is followed by the year of publication and, where necessary, the page number(s).

Cross references are to the relevant sections or sub-sections. The first digit stands for the chapter number, the second for the section and the third for the sub-section. Thus 2.1.3 stands for

Chapter	2
Section	1
Sub-section	3

TABLE OF SYMBOLS AND NOTATIONAL CONVENTIONS

The symbols and notational conventions generally used in this thesis are explained below. The specialised use of certain symbols is explained in appropriate contexts.

[]	Enclose phonetic symbols, in terms of the I.P.A.
{ }	Enclose items of which one can be chosen.
+	Concatenation.
^	with. (See page 170).
<	is derived from.
→	is realized as.
~	alternates with.
*	ungrammatical or unacceptable, expression.
#	Word-boundary. (See page 170).
/	or.
-	This superscript mark indicates length of a V or C unit.
≡	This complex superscript mark indicates that the item concerned may be long or short.

ABBREVIATIONS

abl. = ablative	IJAL = International
acc. = accusative	Journal of
Adj. = adjectival	American Linguistics
Adv. = adverbial	Inf. = Inflected
AnL = Anthropological	Uninf. = uninflected
Linguistics	ins. = instrumental
BSOAS = Bulletin of the	itg. = interrogative
School of Oriental	J.E. = junctional element
and African Studies	JL = Journal of
Can. = canonical	Linguistics
cps. = cycles per second	Jtn. = junction
dat. = dative	Kgm. = kymogram
e.g. = example	L = light
fem. = feminine	loc. = locative
Fm. = form	Lg = Language
Fn. = final	mas. = masculine
Fut. = future	N.S. = nominalizing
gen. = genitive	suffix
H = heavy	Nom. = nominal
hon. = honorific	Nomin. = nominative
hum. = human	Num. = number
I.P.A. = International	Obl. = oblique
Phonetic Alphabet	Or. = other

pat.	=	pattern	S.I.	=	suffix initial
Pf.	=	prefix	Sgm.	=	spectrogram
Pgm.	=	palatogram	soc.	=	sociative
pl.	=	plural	St.	=	stem
p.n.	=	place name	Ss.	=	suffixes
pr.n.	=	proper noun	Syl.	=	syllable
Qty.	=	quantity	Syls.	=	syllables
Rdg.	=	Reading	TPhS	=	Transactions of the Philological Society
R.P.	=	received pronunciation	Tpn.	=	transcription
Rt.	=	root	vs.	=	versus
S.	=	suffix			
sg.	=	singular			

LIST OF PALATOGRAMS

1. plain palate	p. 596	16. ennam	p. 602
2. tampi	p. 599	17. peen	p. 602
3. oRRe	p. 599	18. antaa	p. 603
4. rayim	p. 599	19. pali	p. 603
5. pat̤i	p. 599	20. palli	p. 603
6. puut̤tu	p. 600	21. vel̤i	p. 603
7. t̤oop	p. 600	22. vel̤li	p. 604
8. picce	p. 600	23. pat̤e	p. 604
9. en̤cin	p. 600	24. pat̤i	p. 604
10. peen	p. 601	25. meeri	p. 604
11. noo	p. 601	26. Riil	p. 605
12. manam	p. 601	27. paati	p. 605
13. mannippu	p. 601	28. paci	p. 605
14. pantu	p. 602	29. cume	p. 605
15. man̤i	p. 602	30. kuci	p. 606

LIST OF KYMOGRAMS

1. valves at rest	p. 621	23. raattiri	p. 632
2. kompu	p. 625	24. kaattu	p. 632
3. pontu	p. 625	25. kuRRam	p. 632
4. kan <u>tu</u>	p. 625	26. ca <u>tte</u>	p. 633
5. kura <u>ngku</u>	p. 626	27. poo <u>tti</u>	p. 633
6. pip <u>cu</u>	p. 626	28. pakkam	p. 633
7. mempar	p. 626	29. pookku	p. 634
8. tan <u>ti</u>	p. 627	30. aapattu	p. 634
9. tan <u>tu</u>	p. 627	31. cape	p. 634
10. paRa <u>ngki</u>	p. 627	32. pe <u>tti</u> ipa <u>ttukke</u>	p. 635
11. pen <u>ci</u> l	p. 628	33. caati	p. 635
12. paampu	p. 628	34. avetaaRave	p. 635
13. tan <u>ti</u>	p. 628	35. aa <u>tu</u>	p. 636
14. kun <u>tu</u>	p. 629	36. ma <u>tu</u>	p. 636
15. ruci	p. 629	37. puke	p. 636
16. kappal	p. 629	38. kaatukuttu	p. 637
17. katti	p. 630	39. aa <u>tu</u> kaal	p. 637
18. paa <u>tti</u>	p. 630	40. manican	p. 637
19. paakku	p. 630	41. maanam	p. 638
20. tappu	p. 631	42. naanam	p. 638
21. piippaa	p. 631	43. ma <u>ni</u> aa	p. 638
22. pattu	p. 631	44. maamaa	p. 639

45. maami	p. 639	61. cippam	p. 644
46. naṇṭu	p. 639	62. paṭṭam	p. 645
47. noṇṭi	p. 640	63. pakkam	p. 645
48. nampar	p. 640	64. tavaḷe	p. 645
49. piṇam	p. 640	65. paati	p. 646
50. cannam	p. 641	66. skuṭṭar	p. 646
51. naan	p. 641	67. are	p. 646
52. nii	p. 641	68. murukku	p. 647
53. noo	p. 642	69. aruvaaḷ	p. 647
54. cooṭine	p. 642	70. aRe	p. 647
55. cootine	p. 642	71. muRukku	p. 648
56. poRume	p. 643	72. aRuvaaḷ	p. 648
57. peen	p. 643	73. murukku	p. 648
58. teen	p. 643	74. are	p. 649
59. Rim	p. 644	75. kaReyaan	p. 649
60. kaṇ	p. 644		

LIST OF SPECTROGRAMS

1. toppi	p. 667	11. ta ^t ti	p. 669
2. appi ^l	p. 667	12. ka ^t ti	p. 669
3. kappu	p. 667	13. va ^t ti	p. 670
4. kaappu	p. 667	14. ma ^t ti	p. 670
5. paatti	p. 668	15. vikkal	p. 670
6. kaattu	p. 668	16. kukkal	p. 670
7. kutti	p. 668	17. vaakku	p. 671
8. catti	p. 668	18. naakku	p. 671
9. ce ^t ti	p. 669	19. appam	p. 671
10. cotti	p. 669	20. paakku	p. 671

0.

INTRODUCTION

0.1

The Term 'Tamil'

0.1.1

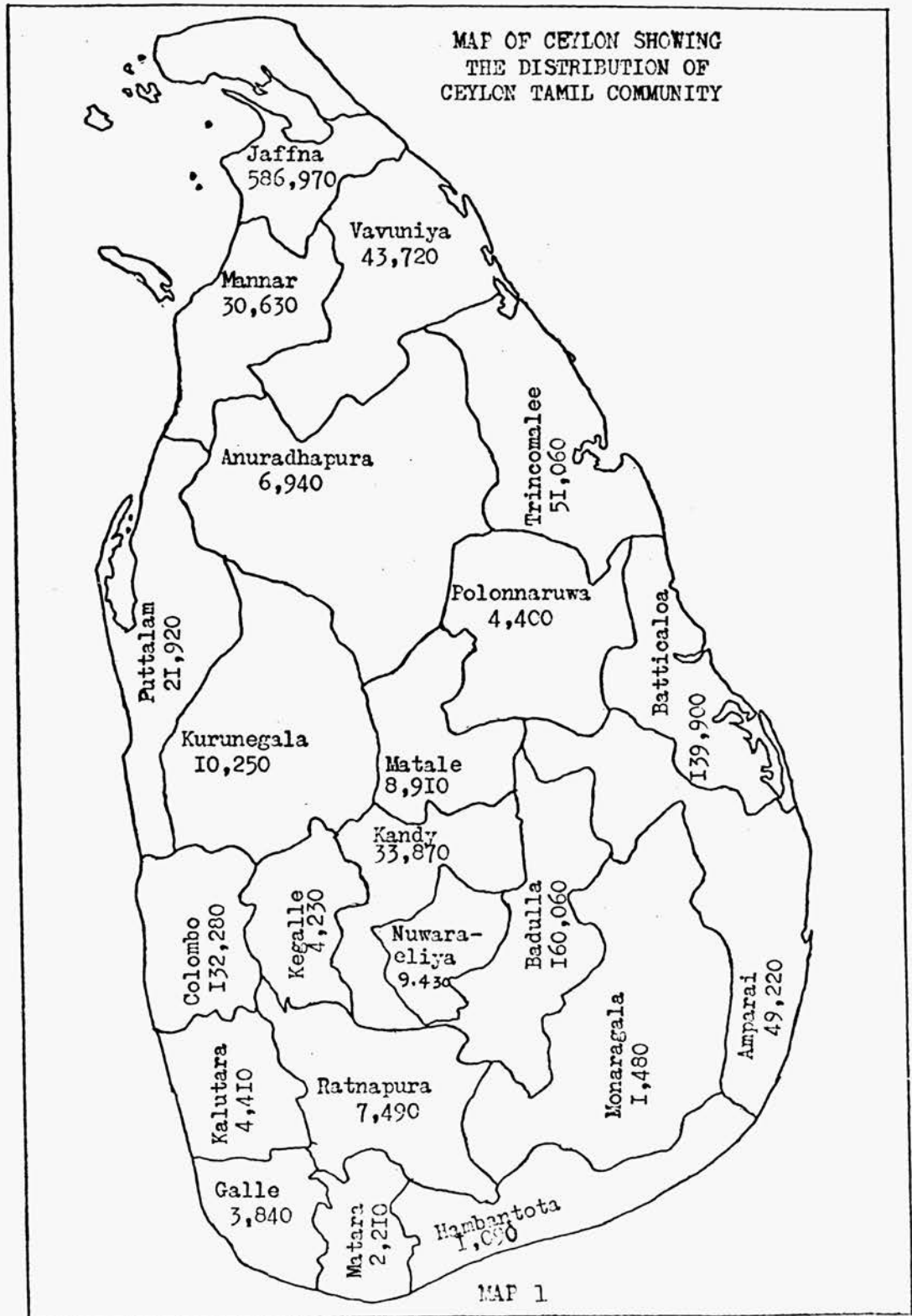
Tamil is a member of the Dravidian family of languages and native speakers of this language are known as Tamils. Tamils are to be found in South India, the northern, eastern, central and north western provinces of Ceylon and certain parts of Burma, Malaysia, Singapore, Mauritius, Fiji Islands, the Union of South Africa and British Guiana.

0.2

Distribution of Ceylon Tamil Community

0.2.1

The Island of Ceylon lies to the south of India, between the latitude of about 6 and 10 degrees north and longitudes of 80 and 82 degrees east covering an area of about 25,000 square miles. The Sinhalese community comprises about seventy percent of Ceylon's total population. The Ceylon Tamil community, popularly referred to as the Jaffna Tamils, is differentiated from the other Tamil speaking communities, namely the Indian Tamils, the Indian Moors and the Ceylon Moors. The Ceylon Tamils have been, and still are, scattered in distribution all over Ceylon (See map 1 on page 2). But they predominate in numbers in their traditional homelands of the northern and eastern provinces and also in the Colombo and Badulla districts. Their distribution, however, tends to be markedly urban in the Sinhalese predominant provinces. The



Ceylon Tamil community constitutes about eleven percent of the total population (See below table 0.1) and ranks as the third largest community. A considerable proportion of the Sinhalese and Moors who live in predominantly Tamil-speaking areas speak Tamil bilingually with Sinhalese. Therefore the Tamil speaking community of Ceylon exceeds the Tamil race in number. The Census¹ of Ceylon for 1963 recorded the following ranking:

	Numbers	Percentage
All Races	10,582,000	100
Ceylon Tamils	1,165,000	11.0
Indian Tamils	1,123,000	10.6
Ceylon Moors	627,000	5.6
Indian Moors	55,000	0.5

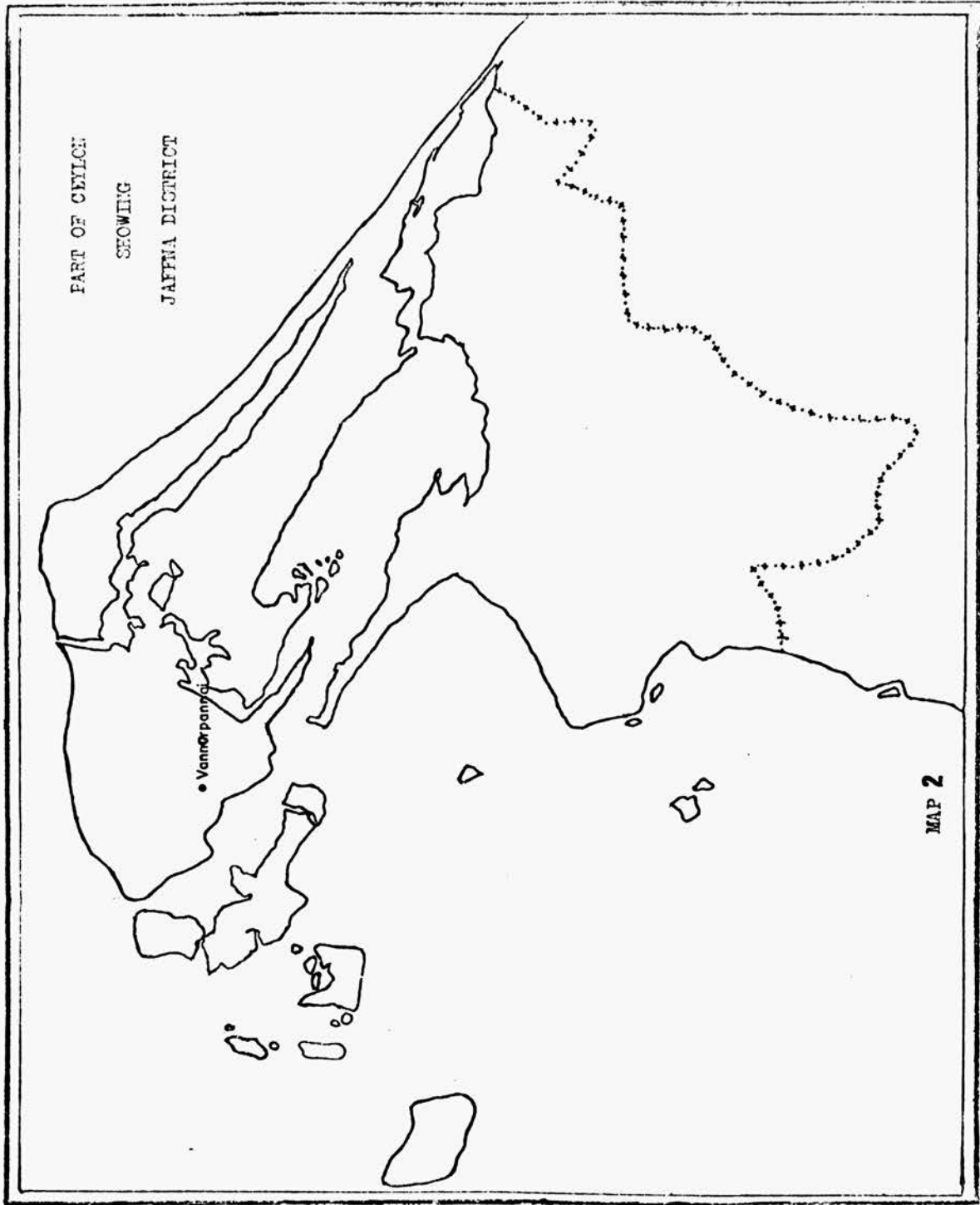
TABLE 0.1

0.3

THE JAFFNA TAMILS

0.3.1 The present writer was born and brought up in Vannarpannai which is a residential area within the Jaffna Municipal limits. The Jaffna district (See map 2 on page 4) which forms the peninsula in north Ceylon is inhabited mainly

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1. Statistical Pocket Book of Ceylon,
Department of Census and Statistics,
Colombo 1970.



by Tamils who form about 95.7 percent of the total population. The total population of the Jaffna district is 613,230 out of which 586,970 are Ceylon Tamils, 10,950 Indian Tamils, 8080 Ceylon Moors and 520 Indian Moors. All these communities are native speakers of Tamil. The present writer feels that the population of this area as quoted above (See page 3) from the Census Report for 1963 will have by now increased by about 10 percent on account of the high birth rate over mortality.

0.3.2 The Jaffna Tamils have with their energy and resourcefulness made a strong mark on their little homeland which is not endowed with natural resources in such abundance as are most other parts of the island. The Jaffna district is very close to South India, being separated by a narrow stretch of sea called the Palk Straight. Because of this proximity, Jaffna was one of the earliest to have settlers from India² but in spite of the continual contact with India by sea, the

2. Some students of history have recently attempted to establish (quite unconvincingly) that Tamils settled down in Jaffna only in the twelfth century. There is still a minority who hold the view that the origin of Ceylon Tamils should not be traced to South India and that Ceylon Tamils sprang from the Ceylon soil. For details of some of such controversial views, see Tambiah's criticism of K. Indrapala (1966) in Tambiah (1971, pp. 300-1 and footnote 13).

Jaffna Tamils have over the centuries become a distinct people developing a dialect which differs in several respects from the South Indian dialects of Tamil.

0.4 The Moors and Indian Tamils of Jaffna

0.4.1 There are about 8080 Jaffna Moors who have continued to live with the Tamil community and who look upon Tamil as their mother tongue. The geographical distribution of this Moor community is mainly centred around two Municipal electoral wards, namely, Old Mosque Ward and New Mosque Ward. Apart from these Jaffna Moors there are the Indian Moors and Tamils (See 0.3.1 for population statistics) who have recently settled down in Jaffna. Occupationally, culturally and even in the use of the Tamil language, the Ceylon Moors, Indian Tamils and Indian Moors resident in Jaffna do not have much in common with the indigenous Tamil community. Though the Ceylon Moors, Indian Tamils and Indian Moors are native speakers of Tamil, their speech habits will not be taken into consideration in the present study.

0.5 PREVIOUS STUDIES ON CEYLON TAMIL

0.5.1 As a matter of awareness, the present writer

feels that an assessment³ must be made on the studies already undertaken on Ceylon Tamil. The studies so far undertaken fall into two groups. The first group comprises investigations the results of which are published in English. The second group consists of publications in Tamil. Wherever necessary, apparent inadequacies of the investigations will be pointed out.

Group I (a): Papers on Ceylon Tamil

0.5.2 The first group can be subdivided into two sections, namely, papers and unpublished theses. Kanapathi Pillai (1958 and 1965), Kuno (1958), Zvelebil (1959-60 and 1966), Kuiper (1962), Shanmugam Pillai (1962), Thananjaya-rajasingham (1962, 1964, 1966a, and 1968), Suseendirarajah (1968 and 1970) and Kandiah (1968) have published papers on different aspects of Tamil as current in Ceylon.

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3. A preliminary assessment of some of the studies mentioned in this section has already been made by two scholars. But in this section, the writer is furnishing more details and making the list of studies up-to-date in the light of studies undertaken after the preliminary assessment of these two authors. The viewpoints expressed here are those of the present writer. For details of their assessment, see Vithiananthan (1968) and Zvelebil (1969).

0.5.3 Of these, Kanapathi Pillai (1958 and 1965) and Thananjayarajasingham (1962, 1964, 1966a, and 1968) have used the term Jaffna Dialect while Kuiper (1962) and Suseend-irarajah (1970) have used the term Jaffna Tamil. Others have carefully avoided these terms and named their papers as a Tamil dialect of Ceylon, etc. One would naturally like to know whether there is any justification for describing the Tamil spoken in Jaffna as the Jaffna dialect of Tamil. Some contemporary linguists who have focussed their attention on Ceylon Tamil are of the opinion that until an exhaustive survey of all dialects or varieties of Ceylon Tamil is made, one cannot conceive of a Jaffna dialect or Jaffna Tamil. At the same time, it should be stressed here that most of the native speakers of Jaffna are able to perceive some striking differences⁴(lexically and otherwise) between their speech

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4. Six years ago, Dr.A. Sathasivam, Senior Lecturer in Tamil, University of Ceylon and the writer spent some time in the Batticaloa district and collected some lexical items which in the opinion of both the members of this survey team are not current in the Jaffna district. A few examples from the data collected in 1966 by the writer and his colleague are given below. Nominals like pooṭiyaar 'owner of paddy fields', lantu 'dense forest', kaṇakaaṭṭu 'trouble', eḷuvaan 'east', meṭṭime 'arrogance', paṭuvaan 'west' and verbs like kiRuku 'to turn', muṭuku 'to hasten' were found to occur in the speech of the informants.

habits and the speech habits of the people of eastern or central provinces. Politically a line has been drawn between indigenous Ceylon Tamils (citizens by descent), Ceylon Moors, Indian Tamils and Indian Moors. The extracts from the Statistical Pocket Book of Ceylon that have been reproduced in this introduction (See table 0.1 on page 3) bear testimony to the existence of such distinctions. Mutual intelligibility as a criterion for distinguishing dialects is one of degree and therefore the degree of mutual intelligibility between the native Tamil speakers of Jaffna and the Tamil speakers of other parts of the island has first to be worked out. Conclusions such as Jaffna Dialect of Tamil or Batticaloa Dialect of Tamil are merely based on impressionistic attitudes of the investigators and such conclusions need further clarification on the lines indicated in this paragraph. It is a matter for the trained linguist to find out whether the differences in intercommunication are such as to warrant the Tamil spoken in Jaffna or in another area, being described as a separate dialect. The absence of a team of linguists adequately trained in dialectology (despite the efforts so far made by the University of Ceylon in sending some members of the Tamil Department abroad for advanced training in modern linguistics) and equipped with modern linguistic aids, makes the problem of distinguishing the dialectal differences prevailing among the Tamil speakers of Ceylon, a vexed one. The use of the phrase Jaffna Tamil in

the title of this thesis should not be taken to imply that it is assumed that the spoken Tamil can be divided into a number of regional dialects. The position is much more complicated. By Jaffna Tamil one means a variety of colloquial Tamil that is spoken in the northern province of Ceylon. No claim is being made that the Tamil that is analysed in this thesis is one restricted to this region as the title might imply. A lot more has to be done before one can conclude that the Tamil spoken in Jaffna be recognized as Ceylon Tamil.

0.5.4 Kanapathi Pillai (1958 and 1965), Shanmugam Pillai (1962) and Thananjayarajasingham (1962, 1964, 1966a, and 1968) have taken the written form as the standard form and explained the changes in the colloquial forms. The transcription or rather the notation used by the first and last authors is highly questionable. Kanapathi Pillai (1958 and 1965), Kuno (1958), Shanmugam Pillai (1962) and Zvelebil (1966) have used a few literary forms that are not in contemporary use in Ceylon Tamil either in eliciting information from their informants or in making observations (e.g. ikal 'hatred', akam 'inside', akalam 'chest', ukir 'nail', mañke 'woman', teñku 'coconut' (1958) and un 'to eat' (1965) - Kanapathi Pillai; vipattu 'danger', mikal 'victory', cekkar 'crimson', karka 'to learn' - Kuno (1958); vanto:m 'we came', manram 'hall', nanru 'well', cenra:n 'he went' - Shanmugam Pillai (1962); cuṭukāṭu 'crematorium', makuṭam 'crown', vipacāram 'prostit-

ution', mēcaiyin kīlē 'under the table' and ippolutu 'now' - Zvelebil (1966).

0.5.5 Since Caldwell (1856, pp.102-5) propounded his theory of the 'convertibility of surds and sonants' in Tamil, the surds and sonants have been discussed elaborately by many. Contemporary linguists have been, for some time, interested in the orthographic single plosives of Tamil in three of their possible occurrences - initially (except the retroflex plosive), medially, immediately preceded by their homorganic nasals and intervocalically. Much has been said in favour of and opposing Caldwell's theory.

0.5.6 Much ink has been spilled on the status of the intervocalic plosives in the Tamil spoken in Jaffna. The findings of Kuiper (1962) and Zvelebil (1966) differ from those of Kanapathi Pillai (1958). Kanapathi Pillai (1958, p.222) commenting on the presence or absence of 'voice' in the intervocalic plosives of Jaffna Tamil, observes: "...in the Tamil dialect spoken in Jaffna this phenomenon (i.e., intervocalic stops represented in the orthography by a single symbol and stops immediately preceded by their homorganic nasals being voiced)⁵ in pronunciation is not found. In many respects, the words are pronounced as they are written". To illustrate, he lists the following examples: kāñke 'heat', añke 'there',

5. The words within brackets are those of the present writer.

mañke 'woman', teñku 'coconut', mañcal 'saffron' and kañci 'rice gruel'. About the occurrence of the voiced palato-alveolar affricate [dʒ] after the palatal nasal [ɲ] Kanapathi Pillai (1958,p.223) says: "In the spoken dialects of Tanjore, Trichinopoly, etc., it occurs when c is joined with its related nasal ñ ... But this change in the pronunciation of c never occurs in the Jaffna dialect".

0.5.7 The above conclusions reached by Kanapathi Pillai (1958) are based on mere impressionistic attitudes, unsupported by any instrumental evidence. As far as the present writer is aware of no evidence could be obtained from any native speaker of Tamil in Jaffna or elsewhere to warrant such conclusions. (See kymograms 2 - 14 and 8.3.10).

0.5.8 Kuiper (1962) and Zvelebil (1966) make some generalizations while overlooking the fact that they have been conducting their field investigations with a single informant or two. Kuno's (1958) informant, C.S. Ananthan spent the first sixteen years of his life in the capital city of Malaysia⁶ and therefore his speech habits cannot be considered as truly representing native speakers of Ceylon Tamil. No doubt valuable information could be collected from a single informant or two. But as far as significant linguistic generalizations are concerned, one must first check the validity of his concl-

6. Kuno (1958,p.1) himself mentions this fact in the course of his short biographical note on his informant.

usions by conducting investigations with more informants of the same area (See 0.9.2) as the first informant. By doing so one could account for the free variations and the standard forms in a dialect.

0.5.9 Zvelebil (1966, pp.137-38) maps out the Ceylon dialects on the following basis. He distinguishes at least four local sub-dialects of Ceylon Tamil: "NORTH (with Jaffna as centre of prestige), NORTH EAST (with Trincomalee as centre), SOUTH EAST (with Batticaloa as centre) and possibly COLOMBO, where a mixed variety is spoken". As to the Jaffna sub-dialect, he goes a step further and says (1966, p.138) "...there are indications that this may itself be a hyper-system of a number of local and social microsystems, some of them perhaps rather divergent in some features (e.g. the phonetic realization of intervocalic plosives)". Geographical demarcations of these types and conclusions or rather conjectures unsupported by substantial evidence are misleading. It is by no means uncommon for one to find several hundreds of people moving out of their home towns or villages and settling in other parts of the island. (See Vamadevan, 1960). Such internal migrations afford an excellent opportunity for one to see that the people concerned continue to speak for a long time the dialect or variety to which they were once exposed before their settling in a new place of residence. There are many Jaffna Tamils who have forsaken

Jaffna and got settled in Colombo or Batticaloa or elsewhere. But wherever they go, their idiosyncratic speech habits (which on further investigations and comparison with the Tamil spoken in other parts of Ceylon may or may not provide evidence to warrant the conclusion that the Tamil spoken in Jaffna can be considered a separate dialect) do betray their origin. In short, one has to be fairly conversant with the local history of the Tamils before demarcating any linguistic province or pocket.

0.5.10 Kuiper (1962,p.62) makes a generalization that "Tamil /r/ differs from the dental trill in that it frequently occurs as a long consonant. In the Tamil colloquial of South India and Ceylon this long /r/ is today always pronounced as dental /t:/, which pronunciation is stated to be current among the "ignorant" as early as the 11th or the 12th cent." There are exceptions to this rule in Ceylon Tamil (See palatogram 3, kymogram 25 and 3.11.8) as could be seen in the pronunciation of certain nominals like orRe [ot:ɛ] 'page', paRRu [pat:w] 'affection', kuRRam [kut:əm] 'guilt', maaRRam [ma:t:əm] 'change', tooRRam [to:t:əm] 'appearance', puRRu [put:u] 'cancer', etc. It is also interesting to see that some of these forms contrast with forms like pattu [pat:w] 'splint', maattu [ma:t:w] 'spare dress', puttu [put:u] 'ant-hill', etc.

0.5.11 The papers so far reviewed have two things in common - the diachronistic approach and theoretical statements unaccompanied by any experimental evidence. Though

Shanmugam Pillai (1962) and Zvelebil (1966) are mainly synchronic in their approach they make a number of statements that have diachronic implications. According to Lyons (1968, p.49) "Relatively few speakers of a language know very much about its historical development". Very little attempt has been made to analyse the state of contemporary Ceylon Tamil without having recourse to a knowledge of the history of the language.

0.5.12 Kandiah (1968) who proposes to cite examples from "(formal) Ceylon Tamil" also lacks observational adequacy as can be seen in the following instances:

1. murukanu[†]taya soRka[]] raamanukku koopam uu[†]ttina (p.223).
'Murukan's words angered Rama'
2. ammaa pi[]]laykku sooRu uu[†]ttunaa[]] (p.221).
'The mother fed the rice to the child'
3. mi[]]akaay neruppil kaayntatu (p.218).
'The chillies dried by the fire'

0.5.13 In the present context, the colligational possibility of the verb kaayntatu (3) 'to dry' is limited to a nominal like veyyil 'sunshine' in the locative when the subject nominal is mi[]]akaay 'chillies'. Thus

mi[]]akaay veyyilil kaayntatu

'the chillies dried in the sun'

is an acceptable sentence in Ceylon Tamil, whereas Kandiah's

*mi[]]akaay neruppil kaayntatu

is not. The colligational possibility of the nominal

neruppu (3) 'fire' is with a verb like cuṭu 'to heat' (e.g. taṇṇiye neruppile cuṭa vay 'heat the water over the fire'). Similarly appropriate selection restriction governs the verb uuṭṭunaaḷ (2) 'she fed'. The verb uuṭṭu 'to feed' will take only the nominal paal 'milk' as its object (e.g. maaṭu kanRukku paal uuṭṭukiRatu 'the cow is feeding the calf with milk'). The nominal sooRu '(cooked) rice' when it occurs as an object nominal will colligate with such verbs as tiiRRinaaḷ (~ tiittinaaḷ) 'she fed' or caappiṭa-p-paṇṇinaaḷ 'she caused to be fed'. The nominal sooRu '(cooked) rice' has the feature [-liquid] whereas the verb uuṭṭunaaḷ (uuṭṭinaaḷ) will have the selection restriction [+liquid] imposed by such nominals as paal 'milk'. Hence

ammaa piḷḷaykku sooRu tiiRRinaaḷ or tiittinaaḷ
'the mother fed the child with rice'

is acceptable but not Kandiah's

*ammaa piḷḷaykku sooRu uuṭṭunaaḷ.

In sentence (1) Kandiah has confused the verb uuṭṭu with muuṭṭu. The object nominal koopam (1) 'anger' will have the feature [-concrete] and the verb uuṭṭina will have the feature [+concrete]. It has already been explained how the verb uuṭṭu will have as its object a concrete nominal like paal 'milk'. The verb muuṭṭu which has the feature [-concrete] will colligate with a nominal like koopam 'anger' which also has the feature [-concrete] in this

context. In other contexts, the verb muuṭṭu will colligate with concrete nominals like neruppu 'fire' (e.g. kayilaacapati neruppu muuṭṭinaan 'Kayilaacapati kindled the fire').

0.5.14 Suseendirarajah (1970) makes an attempt to identify a social dialect from the speech habits of the people of the northern province. Though his analysis is mainly confined to the village of Myliddy, he says (1970,p.244) that it "includes material from other parts of Jaffna". A few pronouns and proper names with honorific plural endings and expressions or salutations as discussed by him do not necessarily reflect the social differences among the inhabitants of north Ceylon. Many of the honorific usages and ways of greeting can be found within the members of a family and their relatives who are on the same footing. Moreover, every dialect of Tamil (not to speak of other languages) has its own set of nominals with honorific endings and ways of polite greetings. The degree of commonness found among different Tamil dialects in these respects is very high and one has first to make a full survey of the data available in all the Tamil-speaking areas of at least Ceylon and India before concluding that such usage is found only in a particular area.

0.5.15 Suseendirarajah (1970,p.242) considers paalkaaraal 'milkman' as one unit. But there is valid ground to consider aaḷ as a nominal which is qualified by another nominal, paalkkaaran 'milkman'. Thus

paalkkaaran 'milkman' + aa] 'person' →

paalkkaara aa] 'the person who is a milkman'

Other examples of this pattern which occur in Ceylon Tamil are:

kaarkkaara aa] 'the person who is a car driver or owner'

peepparkkaara aa] 'the person who sells newspapers'

kakkuuskaara aa] 'the person who is a lavatory scavenger'

When the identity of the person is known the pattern is nominal [profession] + nominal [proper noun]. e.g.

e.g. kaarkkaara maarimuttu 'Maarimuttu who drives or owns a car'

van[il]kkaara raamu 'Raamu who is a carter'

0.5.16 Hence these patterns reveal only a contrast of identity versus non-identity of persons and do not have any implication of social differences as suggested by Suseend-irarajah (1970).

0.6 Group I (b): Theses on Ceylon Tamil

0.6.1 Thananjayarajasingham (1961), Suseendirarajah (1967) and Kandiah (1967) have investigated some aspects of Ceylon Tamil and their findings are embodied in theses. Thananjayarajasingham (1961) made a descriptive study of written Ceylon Tamil as revealed through the Tamil records of the eighteenth century. Suseendirarajah (1967) made a descriptive study of Ceylon Tamil with special reference to Jaffna Tamil. By adopting an insufficiently rigorous

approach to linguistic description, Thananjayarajasingham (1961) and Suseendirarajah (1967) failed to achieve explanatory adequacy. Traditional grammatical theory has been applied in many instances in their works to describe the language.

0.6.2 Kandiah (1967) has taken for study the syntax of the verb in Ceylon Tamil and has followed the transformational approach proposed by Chomsky in 1965. His work mainly suffers from lack of observational adequacy and many of the sentences generated by his grammar are unacceptable to native speakers of Ceylon Tamil. Lexical items like vaanikarka] (p.15) 'businessmen', pirassannappaṇṇinaan (p.253) 'he staged', unpittaa] (p.256) 'she caused to be fed', etc., which are cited in his work are not current in Ceylon Tamil. His grammar aims to generate all and only the sentences of Ceylon Tamil. But many sentences generated violate the selection restrictions imposed on the verbs by either the subject or object nominals. He advocates a kind of hybrid⁶ Tamil as standard Tamil and the reasons he puts forward for recognizing a 'standard' Ceylon

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6. This kind of Tamil is referred to either as paRanki-t-tamil or as piittal tamil by native speakers of Tamil in Ceylon. But the writer prefers the less perjorative term 'hybrid' to these two terms.

Tamil are far from convincing. These observations will be substantiated with the help of a few examples drawn from Kandiah's (1967) thesis in the next few paragraphs.

0.6.3 To illustrate the fact that an adequate grammar should explain the structural ambiguity of sentences, an example expanded from the hackneyed example (puli konRa yaanai)⁷ cited by Ceenaavaraiyar (who is supposed to have lived in the thirteenth century) in his commentary to Tolkaappiyam has been cited by Kandiah. Agesthalingom (1967, pp.vi-vii) made mention of this example with acknowledgement to Tolkaappiyam. Kandiah's example

puli konRa yaanai kaa^til iruntatu (p.43)

not only lacks originality but is also inappropriate as an example of an ambiguous sentence. This sentence is not at all ambiguous in contemporary Ceylon Tamil and will only be understood as 'the elephant which was killed by the tiger was in the forest'.

0.6.4 The sentence ka^tai mutalaaⁱ konRa (or kon^a) aaⁱ innum kaⁿlupi^tikkavillai has the potentiality of

7. Ceenaavaraiyar argues that this nominal phrase is ambiguous in two ways as shown below.

(a) 'the tiger that was killed by the elephant'

(b) 'the elephant that was killed by the tiger'

But in modern Tamil, this phrase is not at all ambiguous and will only be understood as (b).

occurring in Ceylon Tamil and without any ambiguity a native speaker of Ceylon Tamil will understand this sentence as 'the person who was murdered by the shop proprietor has not yet been identified or discovered' and not as 'the person who murdered the shop proprietor has not been identified or discovered'. The crucial point to note here is that the nominal phrase kaṭai mutalaaḷi konRa (or konṭa) aaḷ 'the person who was murdered by the shop proprietor' is identical in construction with the nominal phrase puli konRa yaanai which was first cited by Ceenaavaraiyar in his commentary to Tolkaappiyam. Therefore one should not begin to analyse a sentence with preconceived notions of ambiguity as indicated by a Tamil commentator who lived as early as the thirteenth century but should view the state of the language as it is found today and in doing so there is no justification to take an archaic example from a traditional grammatical work for illustration of structural ambiguity, especially when one is engaged in such a restricted field of inquiry as Ceylon Tamil.

eḷuttaaḷar saṅkam oru putu saṅsikayay piRappittirukkiRatu
(p.124)

'The writers' society has issued a new journal'

0.6.5 The verb piRappittirukkiRatu 'to issue or give birth' will not colligate with an object nominal like saṅsikay 'journal' in Ceylon Tamil. This verb will take nominals like kaṭṭaḷai 'order' and aanai 'order' in the inanimate category and nominals like pillai 'child',

ku]antai 'child', etc., in the animate category (e.g. aracaankam
oru putu-kaka]t]a]ai piRappittirukkiRatu 'the government has
 issued a new order'). The nominal sapsikay, when it occurs as
 an object as in the present context, will take verbs like
ve]iyi]t]irukkiRatu 'to publish' or piracurittirukkiRatu 'to
 publish'. Thus

e]uttaa]ar saṅkam oru putu sapsikayay-p-piracurittirukkiRatu
 'the writers' association has brought out a new journal'
 is an acceptable sentence in Ceylon Tamil whereas Kandiah's
 *e]uttaa]ar saṅkam oru putu sapsikayay piRappittirukkiRatu
 (p.124)
 is not.

kosuku pa]uttavarai atikam alakka]ittatu (p.158)

'The mosquito troubled the sleeper a great deal'

0.6.6 The nominal kosuku 'mosquito' will not take a
 verb like alakka]ittatu 'to cause unnecessary wanderings'.
 A sentence like kosuku pa]uttavarai atikam ka]ittatu 'the
 mosquito bit the sleeper much' is an acceptable sentence but
 not Kandiah's

*kosuku pa]uttavarai atikam alakka]ittatu (p.124).

A nominal like veelai 'work' will take the verb alakka]ittatu
 (e.g. anta veelai ennai atikam alakka]ittatu 'that work
 caused me many unnecessary wanderings').

ammaa pi]laykku sooru unpittaa] (p.256)

'The mother got the child fed with rice'

0.6.7 The verb unpittaa] 'she caused to be fed' does not
 occur in Ceylon Tamil (See 0.6.2). The object nominal sooru

'(cooked) rice' will take a verb like tiRRinaa] or tiittinaa] 'she fed' (See 0.5.13). Thus

ammaa pi]]aykku sooRu tiRRinaa] or tiittinaa]

'the mother fed the child with rice'

has the potentiality of occurrence and acceptability in Ceylon Tamil while Kandiah's

*ammaa pi]]aykku sooRu unpittaa] (p.256)

does not. It should also be mentioned here that a causative verb like unpittaa] 'she caused to be fed' will not take a direct object like pi]]ai 'child' in the dative as in Kandiah's above example. In such instances, the direct object pi]]ai 'child' will be in the accusative.

raaman nanpanay tanatu ka[itaṅka]ay vaacikka vi]]aar (p.163)

'Rama allowed his friend to read his letters'

0.6.8 This sentence is ambiguous in two ways and the ambiguity can be seen in Kandiah's English translation (does the second anaphoric pronoun his refer to Rama or his friend?). A native speaker will understand this sentence as 'Raaman allowed his friend to read his (friend's) letters' or as 'Raaman allowed his friend to read his (Raaman's) letters'. Kandiah has failed to take note of this structural ambiguity in this sentence and considers it an unambiguous sentence.

0.6.9 Kandiah (1967, pp.13-20) visualizes a kind of 'standard' Tamil which is being popularized by Tinakaran and

the Ceylon Broadcasting Corporation. A single Tamil newspaper enjoying a daily circulation of only about 23,000 is supposed to exert its influence on the teeming thousands of native Tamils (for exact figures see 0.2.1) in Ceylon. Strangely enough, the language of Tinakaran has been identified with the language of the Ceylon Broadcasting Corporation. Kandiah has not clearly indicated the features commonly shared by these two means of communication. The two differ (apart from the fact that one is private enterprise and the other is state enterprise) in that one manifests itself through a visual medium and the other through an aural medium and the language of the one is different from the other. The author has failed to substantiate his statements about 'standard' Tamil with a few examples from these two means of communication which he believes to have been primarily instrumental in popularizing the kind of 'standard' Tamil mentioned in his work.

0.6.10 Kandiah (1967, pp.18-20) goes a step further in branding Viirakeecari as the protagonist of 'standard' Indian Tamil. Here again he has failed to substantiate his statements with extracts from this newspaper. The present writer has been a regular contributor to both Tinakaran and Viirakeecari and in making such contributions he never felt the need for changing his style and diction to suit each of these newspapers. As far as news items are concerned, there may be an overload of news about Indian Tamils in Viirakeecari.

Structurally and otherwise the language of this newspaper bears affinity to the language of Tinakaran. There may be certain foreign words in Viirakeecari that are not in common parlance (e.g. rastaa 'road' etc.) in the speech or writings of the native inhabitants of the island. But Tinakaran too uses foreign words that are not commonly used in conventional writings (e.g. raajinaamaa 'resignation', manu 'application' etc.). Surely a sprinkling of foreign words does not materially affect the general pattern of the language under discussion. There are many native speakers who would prefer Viirakeecari to Tinakaran despite the fact that the latter enjoys a wider circulation. Since 1962 or so, Viirakeecari, under a new Board of Management, has been recognized as an acceptable local newspaper by native Tamil speakers. The accusation that this newspaper advocates 'standard' Indian Tamil does not hold good in the light of recent findings.

0.6.11 After an exhaustive survey of the existing varieties of speech and writing in Ceylon, one may or may not have the chance of conceiving a 'standard' Tamil. While belittling the traditional grammars in Tamil for their prescriptive tendencies, Kandiah (1967) himself succumbs to the same tendency by advocating a 'standard' Tamil.

0.6.12 Within the last two decades, a rising generation of Tamil writers and speakers succeeded in forging a new variety of Ceylon Tamil that has almost gained wider acceptance. This variety of Tamil is not to be confused with the 'standard'

Tamil of Kandiah (1967) which is supposed to be forged by bilingual users (English and Tamil), a solitary newspaper and the Broadcasting Corporation. A number of factors paved the way towards the making of this new variety of Ceylon Tamil. First and foremost among them was the traditional antipathy on the part of Ceylon Tamils towards South India. This antipathy could be traced as early as the latter half of the nineteenth century when Arumuga Navalar, Thamotharam Pillai and Katiravel Pillai vied with South Indian scholars for recognition as Tamil scholars. Some of their quarrels even ended up in the law courts. The polemic writings of this period established well the fact that there was no love lost between South Indian and Ceylon Tamils. The cultural ties were cut for some decades. At the beginning of the second quarter of the twentieth century, the differences were sunk and cultural ties were renewed by a changing generation. Until recently, it was the order of the day to have a guest speaker or two from South India to address a gathering during a literary festival in Ceylon. It was considered a great achievement for a Ceylon Tamil if he could get one of his writings published in South India. It was considered international recognition. Several hundreds of Ceylon students went to South India for higher education and genuinely felt that their language was not being developed to that extent as in India. Both the educated and the uneducated Ceylon Tamils looked up to South India for

standards. South Indian journals and popular fiction were largely patronised, to the dismay of local writers. Even school text books were imported from South India.

0.6.13 This state of affairs did not last long. Ceylon Tamils gradually began to react to the alarming proportions in which Indian influence was felt. The reaction to this state of affairs was further accelerated by the hostile attitude of the Ceylon government towards Indian labour problem and drain of foreign exchange through higher education, purchase of journals, screening of Indian films, etc. With the dawn of independence, national sentiments soared up to feverish heights. Steps were ~~taken~~ to repatriate Indians employed as teachers, merchants, labourers, etc. The snobbish attitude with which some of the Indian writers and speakers wounded the feelings of the Ceylon Tamils was another timely factor in changing the attitude of the Ceylon Tamils. Consciousness of talent on the part of natives, the self-realization that their language and literary output were in no way inferior to those of their South Indian counterparts, the hostile attitude of the Ceylon government towards the Indians in general, curbs on travel to India - all these factors motivated the more conscious of the Ceylon Tamils to initiate measures to develop local talent. Local publishers were sought after and literary festivals were organized with the help of local celebrities. A new team of writers placed their literary effort at the disposal of the general public.

The language used was quite different from that of the Indian publications. It had a local flavour and so it began to appeal to the natives. Local institutions and newspapers now and then organized competitions and awarded prizes to encourage local talent.

0.6.14 Another factor that contributed to the making of a new variety of Ceylon Tamil can be traced to the doing away with the teaching of traditional grammar in the higher forms in secondary education. Many a student passed out of the schools and sought employment without being a victim to the prescriptive nature of Tamil grammars. This made one lean more on his natural way of expressing his ideas. The literary and grammatical or high Tamil was slowly abandoned in preference to the language to which one is exposed in normal day-to-day transactions. One has but to examine the literary endeavours of the new generation of writers and speakers to come to such a conclusion. This variety of Ceylon Tamil as used by the younger generation is no doubt viewed with grave concern by the traditionalists and purists who continue to look up to traditional grammars for standards (written under the guise of caanRoor va\akku 'the use of the learned'). One is not too optimistic if one says that the speakers and writers of this new variety of Ceylon Tamil easily outnumber the traditionalists and purists.

0.6.15 Though the present writer recognizes the emergence of a new variety of Ceylon Tamil, he is not hasty

as Kandiah (1967) with his own brand of 'standard' Tamil is, in advocating that this variety of Tamil be looked upon as typical contemporary Ceylon Tamil. The writer only wishes to illustrate the fact that there are several varieties of Tamil spoken and written in Ceylon and their chances of survival and influence on each other cannot be predicted at the moment.

0.6.16 In analysing the syntactic structure of the verb in Ceylon Tamil, Kandiah (1967) has taken into consideration both the spoken and the written language. In support of his stand he says (1967, pp.20-21) "...the writer considers both the spoken and the written language in the present work. To many a modern linguist who bases himself on Bloomfield's remark that 'writing' is not language, but merely a way of recording languages by means of visible marks', the inclusion of the written language might appear strange and unacceptable. The writer, however, takes the view that langue in Ceylon Tamil manifests itself both in speech and writing, and that both manifestations are equally valid objects of study, for each of them is of primary in its own sphere, writing serving purposes which speech cannot, and vice versa. In the present work, what is common to the grammar of the spoken and the written languages is recorded and certain devices that are exclusive to speech are ignored. Among these devices are intonational patterns and so on which support the grammatical system in speech. While the writer's decision to treat the

written language imposes certain limitations on the work in terms of material, it makes available to him a ready-made idealization of the language which is significantly very much like the idealization which linguists who analyse the spoken language would have to make before they can proceed with their analysis".

0.6.17 The consideration of spoken and written Tamil further weakens the value of Kandiah's (1967) investigations. He is unaware of the lexical differences prevailing between spoken and written Ceylon Tamil and so is unable to construct a grammar that can generate "all and only the sentences" of Ceylon Tamil. There are several lexical items whose usage is restricted to written Tamil. Lexical items very often differ from each other as far as their probability of occurrence in spoken and written Tamil are concerned. One of Kandiah's (1967) example is

maappi[l]ay kaalay 4.33kku kaliyaana vii[t]ukku ve[likki]tuvaar
(p.61)

'The bridegroom will set off for the wedding-house at

4.33 a.m.'

The verb ve[likki]tuvaar 'he will set off' will occur only in spoken Ceylon Tamil. A verb like puRappa]tuvaar or celvaar or poovaar 'he will set off' will occur in written Ceylon Tamil in this context.

yaattiri taan ennatayk ka[n]taan enRu sonnaan (p.350)

'The pilgrim told (us) what he had seen'

Normally this sentence would be understood as 'the pilgrim said that he had not seen anything'. The pronoun ennatay (ennattai) 'what (acc.)' has the potentiality of occurring in spoken Ceylon Tamil whereas only the pronoun etai 'what (acc.)' will occur in written Tamil (e.g. yaattiri taan etai-k-kan, [aan enRu sonnaan 'the pilgrim described what he saw'. Note that this sentence is not at all ambiguous so as to be interpreted as the previous one in a negative way). The sentence paniyaa[arka] ki[ampinaarka] (p.132)

'The servants were aroused'

is an instance where one half of the sentence (the nominal paniyaa[arka]) has the potentiality of occurrence in written (literary) Tamil and the other half of the sentence (the verb ki[ampinaarka]) will only occur in spoken Tamil. Moreover the translation meaning given to this sentence by Kandiah is not acceptable. A native speaker like the writer would understand this sentence as 'the servants set out or came out'. Kandiah has confused the verb ki[ampu] 'to go out' with the verb ki[ar] 'to arouse'.

0.6.18 Apart from mere lexical differences, the syntactic structure on the surface level of spoken Tamil differs from that of written Tamil. Throughout his work, Kandiah (1967) has consistently analysed the structure of the verb as found in written Tamil, ignoring the order in which it is realized in the surface in spoken Tamil. Though transformationally one could derive both the structures

found in the spoken and written Tamil from the same source, the surface structure syntactic differences (the order of nominals, verbs, prenominal and post nominal modifiers, adjectives, pre-verbal and post verbal modifiers, direct object and indirect object, etc.) between the two are not at all discussed.

0.6.19 Though syntax is his main topic of investigation, Kandiah (1967) wishes to show that the Tamil orthographic $\dot{\text{q}}$ (z) and œ (ai) are not realized in speech in Ceylon Tamil. He says (p.11) "... what are two distinct items in the orthography will in certain instances when they are not contrastive in speech be represented by a single symbol.

Thus $\dot{\text{p}}$ and œ will be represented by n and œ and $\dot{\text{q}}$ by [". In the first instance, the sounds represented by the orthographic symbols œ and $\dot{\text{q}}$ do not contrast in any instance (as against Kandiah's view of "certain instances")⁸. Even a cursory glance at Kandiah's examples would result in the conviction that he is only concerned with lexical items as they appear in written Ceylon Tamil and not in speech. In written Tamil, be it the language of Tinakaran or of any modern writer, a distinction is made between the symbol representing the alveolar nasal œ (n) and that representing the dental nasal $\dot{\text{p}}$ (n). The same

8. See Zvelebil (1966,p.118) on this point.

is true of ி (i) and ஂ (ai) and அய (ay). He has translated the verb காய்ச்சினான் (which, in the speech of the present writer, is phonetically realized as [ka:tʃinaan] as kaayssinaan (p.86). The use of the symbols ss to represent the orthographic ச்ச (t:ʃ) is hardly in conformity with accepted conventions of transliteration of Tamil.

0.6.20 In these and in many other respects that are not discussed here, Kandiah's (1967) work suffers from several shortcomings such as inadequacy of observation and collection of primary linguistic data, generation of unacceptable sentences, making statements unaccompanied by substantial evidence, faulty translation, transliteration, etc. Even the transformational theory presented by Kandiah (1967) needs revision in the light of recent developments.

0.6.21 Apart from papers and unpublished theses so far discussed, there is a body of literature on Ceylon Tamil written in the vernacular. This literature can be divided into two sub-sections, namely, papers and books .

0.7.1 Group II (a): Papers⁹ on Ceylon Tamil

0.7.1 Swami Vipulananda (1941), Nadarajah (1946),

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9. It may be noted here that only papers published in journals of some academic standing are taken up for discussion. For instance, the contributions made in the field of Ceylon Tamil studies as found in the quarterly Cintanai, the monthly Viveeki, etc., do not merit consideration here.

Kanapathi Pillai (1960) and Thananjayarajasingham (1963 and 1966b) have published in the vernacular papers on some aspects of Ceylon Tamil. Swami Vipulananda (1941) limits his investigations to a brief phonological description of Ceylon Tamil and South Arcot Tamil. As the paper was written at a time when modern methods of linguistic description were not applied to Tamil and investigations on Tamil dialects had not begun, the paper suffers from inadequacy of description. Moreover the traditional methods of transcription and interpretation employed in describing the sound differences of the two varieties of Tamil lessen the value of the pioneer effort of this author, in the light of modern trends in descriptive linguistics.

0.7.2 Nadarajah's (1946) contribution reflects the purist tradition as advocated by native pundits. Being unaware of the synchronic approach to the study of language, he tries to establish the fact that the language chosen for his analysis is free from many foreign words and that it contains several literary forms without mutation.

0.7.3 Kanapathi Pillai (1960) merely gives a list of foreign words that have been admitted into the Tamil language as current in Ceylon and is not very accurate in tracing the history of certain words. Even a word like iraiyāl 'a coin' which is commonly acknowledged to be from Portuguese real is according to him of Dutch origin.

0.7.4 Thananjayarajasingham (1963) discusses the allophones of the phoneme / k / in Jaffna Tamil. The author's generalized statement that initially the stops are pronounced voiceless is untenable as foreign words like [bʌs] 'bus', [ge:t] 'gate' etc., do occur in Ceylon Tamil (See table 1.6 in sub-section 1.21.5 and 3.11.6). In his other paper (1966b) he traces the history of Dutch loanwords in Jaffna Tamil and supports some of his statements from evidence gleaned from the Tamil proclamations issued by the Dutch governors of Ceylon.

0.8 Group II (b): Books

0.8.1 The contributions made by Kanapathi Pillai (1942 and 1952), Ramalingam (1951, 1960 and 1962), Vithiananthan (1960, 1962, 1964, 1966, 1967 and 1970), Kandiah (1964) and Shanmugam Pillai (1967) can be classed under this group. Kanapathi Pillai (1942 and 1952) and Vithiananthan (1960, 1962, 1964, 1966, 1967 and 1970) were mainly responsible in popularizing the colloquial language through plays and folk drama. As early as 1938, Kanapathi Pillai wrote his first play styled Utaiyār mitukku 'Eccentric Headman'. This play was written in colloquial Ceylon Tamil - a radical departure from the traditionalists who were advocating that everything should be written in literary Tamil (See 0.6.14). This play has been staged and restaged several times in the various parts of the island during the last three decades and it was soon followed by five more plays all of which were written

in contemporary colloquial style and they have been published. Vithiananthan (1960, 1962, 1964, 1966, 1967 and 1970) has published a few texts of folk drama as current in Ceylon Tamil and in these editions, the colloquial uses of certain lexical items are explained. Ramalingam (1951, 1960 and 1962) in his publications on folk lore as current in Ceylon Tamil also makes critical comments on the peculiar uses of lexical items. The explanatory notes found in connection with certain peculiar uses of lexical items in the works of these two authors are of much value to those engaged in comparative and historical linguistic studies.

0.8.2 Kandiah (1964, pp.84-152) in his chapter on Centamilc col valam suffers from the same defect as Nadarajah (1946) who has already been discussed (See 0.7.2). Kandiah (1964, p.121) at times engages in folk etymology when discussing forms like kappu 'pillar' etc. He derives the form kappu 'pillar' from kevar 'forked branch' whereas a more reasonable explanation would be that it derives from kampu 'stick' by the hardening of the nasal. Like Kanapathi Pillai (1960) (See 0.7.3) he is not accurate in tracing the history of foreign words (For instance, see his explanation for the word kōppi (p.150), which according to him is from English coffee, and compare it with Kuiper's editorial note in Zvelebil (1966, p.138). Some of the lexical items cited by him as belonging uniquely to the speech of the Tamils of Batticaloa are also found in the speech of the present writer who hails from the Jaffna district (e.g. vicar

'madness'; vicalam 'news', vinnan 'clever man', mitā 'large pot', kamam 'farming', karaiccal 'trouble' etc.).

0.8.3 Shanmugam Pillai (1967, pp.15-33) makes a contrastive analysis of written Tamil and colloquial Ceylon and Indian Indian Tamil. He relies on a single informant (the shortcomings of this approach have been already pointed out in subsection 0.5.7) for his data. He makes very many ~~generalizations~~ such as that in Jaffna Tamil the stops are pronounced without voicing. In this respect what is said of Thananjaya-rajasingham (1963) in (0.7.4) is also applicable to him. For instance, the word ṭakṭar 'doctor' is not pronounced as iṭakkuttar (iṭaakkuttar) by Ceylon Tamils but as [ḍa:kmut:ar], i.e., with a voiced plosive in word-initial position.

0.9

THE PRESENT STUDY

0.9.1 The writer has taken up for study the nominal piece in Jaffna Tamil as revealed through his own idiolect. The writer, till the completion of his secondary education at the age of eighteen, had lived in Jaffna and had travelled very little outside his home town during this period. At the age of nineteen he gained admission to the University of Ceylon which at this time was a residential university situated in the central province. For the first time in his life, he was provided with an opportunity of associating with Tamil speakers from diverse parts of the island. From the nineteenth year till the taking up of this study, the writer,

first in his capacity as an undergraduate and later as Lecturer in Tamil at the University of Ceylon, visited Jaffna only during vacations. But as the writer has spent the entire period of his language acquisition¹⁰ in Jaffna and his speech habits had become more or less stabilised at the time of his entry to the university in the central province, the exposure to the speech habits of people hailing from different parts of the island did not in any significant way influence his idiolect. He has checked the validity of his data presented in this thesis with several other informants (including his wife) who are native speakers of Jaffna Tamil and are residing in Britain. In view of these facts, the idiolect of the writer may be considered as a representative sample of contemporary Jaffna Tamil as spoken by the native inhabitants of Ceylon.

0.9.2 Perhaps the choice of the nominal piece in Jaffna Tamil as the subject of present study needs some remarks in justification. A retrospective survey of research done on Tamil reveals that greater emphasis has been laid on verbs.¹¹

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10. Psycho-linguists fix the period of language acquisition as the first 7-10 years of a child. See Lenneberg (1967), Slobin (1968) and McNeill (1970).
 11. For instance, See Sathasivam (1956), Rajam (1959), Ramanujan (1963), Kandiah (1967) and Schiffman (1969).

The nominals undoubtedly outnumber the verbs. Even if one were to compare the number of proper nouns with the number of verbs available in a language one could easily lean towards this conclusion. The nominals are also more likely to fall into disuse. For instance, the nominal paRaṇ 'a shelf on the roof of a house' was in common parlance in Jaffna Tamil about three decades ago. As modern household amenities were sought after by people, there was no longer the need for constructing a shelf on the roof. This resulted in the falling into disuse of the nominal paRaṇ in Jaffna Tamil. Nominals like paccaṭi 'salad', taavaaram 'verandah' are of Dravidian origin. For their survival, these nominals have to compete with loanwords like campal 'salad' and viRaante 'verandah'. In the writer's speech campal and viRaante only occur and there are many who would constantly prefer to use these two loanwords instead of paccaṭi and taavaaram. In time to come, paccaṭi and taavaaram may not be current at all.

0.9.4 With the rapid advancement made in modern times in the fields of scientific, technical and medical inventions, several new technical terms coined from foreign languages are entering the vocabulary of the Tamils (e.g. poliṭool 'an insecticide', Raakrar 'tractor', pam 'pump', cuvic 'switch', moottar 'motor', epcin 'engine', epciniyar 'engineer', oppaReecan 'operation', maleeriyaa 'malaria'

fever', cayiran 'siren', etc. It is almost a truism to say that of the foreign borrowings in most languages, there is a preponderance of nominal forms.¹² Lexical substitution either from native or foreign source is more possible with nominals than with verbs. In the writer's dialect, the nominals maasrar , vaatti , aaciriyar , caṭṭampi and kuru denote a teacher. Each of them has the potentiality of occurrence in ordinary conversation in all the environments in which the remaining four can occur. Wide choices of this sort are not to be found among the verbs in his language. The writer feels that little work has been done on the nominals in Tamil and hence has been motivated to undertake a study of the nominal piece in his idiolect.

0.10

PROSODIC PHONOLOGY

0.10.1 For the first time, the phonology of nominals in Jaffna Tamil has been extensively analysed from the standpoint of prosodic analysis in this thesis. "Prosodic analysis falls under the general rubric of phonology, and this in turn comes within the compass of descriptive linguistics"(Robins, 1957, p.1). The prosodic approach to the phonological description of language was first outlined by J.R. Firth in his paper on Sounds and Prosodies

12. See Asher (1966, p.16 and 1969, p.250).

which appeared in the Transactions of the Philological Society in 1948. Since this time, prosodic phonological theory has been applied to many languages by both the staff and students at the School of Oriental and African Studies of the London University. As far as Dravidian languages are concerned, the prosodic approach to phonological analysis is limited to the investigations of two scholars who have analysed the verbal forms of a dialect of Tamil and Malayalam respectively.¹³ Although two scholars from Ceylon have exemplified this theory by applying it to the Sinhalese language,¹⁴ the fact that their dissertations have not been published accounts for the lack of influence of the prosodic theory on language investigators in Ceylon. Moreover, the published dissertations and papers within the framework of prosodic phonology have not yet become available to investigators of languages spoken in Ceylon. Therefore, a brief outline indicating the salient features of the prosodic approach to phonological analysis is undertaken in the next few paragraphs.

0.11

Structure and System

0.11.1 Saussure, in developing the structural approach to language, drew attention to the two dimensions

13. See Asher (1966) and Nayar (1970).

14. See De Silva (1958) and Kekulawela (1964).

that must be taken into account in linguistic analysis, the syntagmatic and the associative. Louis Hjelmslev designated the term paradigmatic in place of Saussure's associative. Prosodic phonologists conceive of language in terms of two dimensions, namely, Structure and System and these two dimensions bear affinity with the Saussurean distinctions mentioned earlier. "The first principle of phonological and grammatical analysis is to distinguish between structure and system" (Firth, 1957b, p.17). The term "structure and its derivatives (structural, etc.) refer to the syntagmatic relations and pieces in parallel with stretches of utterance in language" and the term "system and its derivatives (systemic, etc.) refer to the paradigms of comparable and contrastive elements relevant to the various places in structures" (Robins, 1957, p.1). Therefore, in analysing the phonic material of an utterance, prosodists distinguish, as at all levels, between paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations. Typical items that can be discussed principally in terms of paradigmatic relations are the phonematic units, which can be viewed as units or terms in a system. At the same time it is possible to consider the relations between successive phonematic units, which can be studied as elements in structure. "Thus syllables, words, and sentences constitute structures, and the relations between and within them are structural relations; the

familiar vowel triangles and quadrilaterals of languages, and sets of consonants or consonant clusters applicable to particular places in syllables or words are examples of phonological systems, and the word classes (parts of speech) of a language and its sets of inflectional categories are grammatical systems" (Robins,1957,p.1).

0.11.2 "The terms structure and elements of structure are not used to refer to a whole language or even to what may be called portions of a language, but exclusively to categories abstracted from common word form or textual form. And quite similarly, system, systems, terms and units are restricted to a set or sets of paradigmatic relations between commutable units or terms which provide values for the elements of structure. Though structures are so to speak 'horizontal' while systems are 'vertical', neither are to be regarded as segments in any sense. Elements of structure, especially in grammatical relations share a mutual expectancy in an order which is not merely a sequence" (Firth,1957b,p. 17). Structure consists of elements in interior syntagmatic relation and these elements have their places in an order of mutual expectancy. The place and order of the categories set up are recognized in structure and find application in renewal of connection with the sources of abstractions. Systems of commutable terms or units are set up to state the paradigmatic values of the elements" (Firth,1957b,p.30).

0.12 The Polysystemic View of Language

0.12.1 Prosodic phonologists reject the view of language as a single system and uphold the view that language is essentially multi-structural and polysystemic. Thus it is possible to conceive of even a single structure as comprising several systems. The [n] belonging to a three term word-initial consonant system would be different from the [n] belonging to a four term word-final consonant system. Though these two units may be conveniently transcribed with the same symbol, functionally they differ from each other in their respective phonological context and meaning (For illustration on this point, see Robins, 1964, pp. 167-68 and 3.11.11 - 3.11.13 of this thesis). Therefore there is "no reason to identify initial and final phonological units in terms of the illogic of distributional relations", and the subsequent necessity to account for differences in terms of limited distribution or neutralization. Seldom are two systems identical" (Palmer, 1968, p. 7).

0.12.2 The polysystemic approach to language demands that different phonological statements be made where necessary for different grammatical elements.¹⁵ Since different grammatical elements are subjected to different phonological analyses, the nominal forms of a language (as in the

15. See Palmer (1964).

present study) can be analysed separately from the verbal forms. The phonological statements made for the nominal forms of a language may not tally with those stated for verbs. Even among the nominal or verbal forms of a language certain grammatical elements like adjectives, place names, proper names, verbal nouns, causatives, intransitives, etc., may be treated differently so as to bring out their salient aspects more clearly. Loanwords in a language demand a separate treatment from words of indigenous origin. In Jaffna Tamil, a considerable portion of the nominals are non-native in origin (See 4.1.1) and the polysystemic approach to a phonological description of the nominals of Jaffna Tamil enables one to bring out more clearly the salient features of native and non-native nominals than other monosystemic phonological approaches. That is why the non-native nominal forms in Jaffna Tamil have been accorded a different treatment from the native ones in this work (See also 0.18). Moreover the very "complexity of language" forces the investigator to limit his field of inquiry and concentrate his attention on "one part of language at a time (Palmer, 1968, p.7).

0.13 Interdependence of Grammar and Phonology

0.13.1 Another noteworthy feature of the prosodic approach to phonological analysis is the recognition of the interdependence of syntax and phonology. The grammar will play a major role in any completed linguistic statement.

Simplicity and coherence can be achieved by recognizing the importance of grammar at all levels of linguistic analysis. Phonological analysis needs to be undertaken with all its grammatical correlations. "The place of phonology then becomes that of an ancilliary technique; it provides a bridge between the grammatical statement and the direct observations that are reported in phonetics" (Palmer, 1958, p. 240). This is the reason why the phonological analysis embodied in Chapters 3 - 7 of this thesis is established within the framework of the grammatical analysis given in Chapter 2 .

0.14 No priority of levels

0.14.1 Any point in a language can and should be considered the locus of many systemic and structural relations. But at the same time it should be emphasized that no level of linguistic analysis is prior or subsequent to another except in temporal consideration. Therefore, the units set up at one level are not to be recognized as more important than those set up in other levels.¹⁶

0.15 Phonematic Units and Prosodies

0.15.1 Prosodic analysis is concerned with two types of basic element, namely, phonematic units and prosodies. Each of these two elements is established in regard to some phonetic feature (or group of features) which serve as its

16. See Bursil - Hall (1961)

exponents in the speech material. "Phonematic units refer to those features or aspects of the phonic material which are best regarded as referable to minimal segments, having serial order in relation to each other in structures. In the most general terms such units constitute the consonant and vowel elements or C and V units of a phonological structure" (Robins, 1957, p.3). Bendor - Samuel (1966, p.30) defines a prosodic feature as "a phonological category whose phonetic exponents either extend over more than one place in the phonological structure or have implications of more than one place". Prosodies may also have a demarcative function, i.e., they may mark word-initiality (See the discussion of the prosody of aspiration in 3.9). "Prosodies are assigned to definite structures, not to places between phonematic units, and are set up to handle syntagmatic relations between certain phonetic features" (Robins, 1967, p.218). In general terms, "those features that are most conveniently regarded as primarily involving linear or temporal succession are assigned to successive phonematic units. Features that for various reasons are found to be best assigned not to phonological units but to stretches of speech actually or potentially larger than a single consonant or vowel unit are allotted to one or more prosodies, which by definition are elements capable of extension over or relevance to sequences of phonematic units of any length" (Robins, 1964, p.160).

0.16

Different types of Prosody

0.16.1

Prosodic abstractions from the phonic data fall into several sub-categories. "Prosodies are abstracted from the utterance or sentence and from parts thereof, always with reference to a given structure; and the relevant phonetic data may be assigned to such different categories of prosody as sentence prosodies, sentence part prosodies, word prosodies, syllable prosodies, and syllable part prosodies. Where more than one phonematic unit or prosody is referable to a single structural position, these constitute a system. Systems are thus set up to state the structural possibilities of a language at the phonological level. The order of working is generally 'downward', from the larger structure through the successively smaller structure to the units" (Robins, 1964, p.161).

0.17

INAPPLICABILITY OF TWO GENERALIZED STATEMENTSTO JAFFNA TAMIL

0.17.1

Firth (1948a) and Agesthialingom (1964) have made over-generalized statements about Tamil. Such generalizations have been made on the Tamil language as a whole and not on particular dialects. Firth (1948, p.127. footnote 1) says: "... I pointed out my own findings in Tamil and Telugu, for both of which languages it is necessary to assume at least three phonological systems: non-brahman Dravidian, Sanskrito-dravidian and Sanskritic".

As far as the writer is aware, no such distinction as non-brahman Tamil and Sanskrito-dravidian Tamil can be made about Tamil that is spoken in Jaffna. Brahmins and non-Brahmins speak alike and one cannot identify any caste dialect among the Jaffna Tamil community. In South India, it is true, that such a distinction can be made and there is a great difference between the Tamil spoken by the Brahmins and that spoken by their non-Brahmin compatriots.¹⁷

0.17.2 Agesthialingom (1964,p.11) states that the intermediate demonstrative pronoun "no longer exists in modern Tamil either in literary or in colloquial". In the present writer's dialect, the forms, unta 'this or that (Adj.)', uvan 'this or that man', uva 'this or that woman', uvar 'this or that man(hon.)', uva [uʋə] 'this or that woman(hon.)', utu 'this or that thing', uvaṅka 'these or those men', uvaave 'these or those women', uve 'these or those people' and utuka 'these or those things' are found.

0.17.3 Therefore the above two generalizations about Tamil cannot be made if Jaffna Tamil is taken into account.

0.18 The Terms 'Native' and 'Marginal'

0.18.1 ~~From the~~ sixteenth century onwards, Ceylon was ruled in succession by the Portuguese, Dutch and the British. The Tamil language as current in Ceylon came into contact with

17. This point is discussed in Balasubramanian (1970, pp.5-7).

Portuguese, Dutch and English during the period 1505 - 1948 and freely borrowed from these European languages. It was not until the beginning of the sixteenth century when the Portuguese came that Ceylon began to make new and important contacts with the outside world. After the Portuguese, the Dutch in the seventeenth century and British in the eighteenth century came to Ceylon. These contacts developed her languages.

0.18.2 Apart from these contacts, there is a considerable proportion of borrowings from Sanskrit and Pali in Tamil. The infiltration of Sanskrit and Pali loans into the Tamil language is something that has spread over a great length of time. Some Sinhalese and Arabic words have also been taken into Jaffna Tamil. The Dutch and Sinhalese elements in Jaffna Tamil are such a speciality as to draw the line between Jaffna Tamil and any South Indian dialect of Tamil.

0.18.3 The above notes on the history of Tamil language as current in Jaffna justify the setting up of a system comprising two terms, namely, Native and Marginal for the nominals in Jaffna Tamil. In this work, the term native is used to indicate words that are of Dravidian origin. The term marginal is used to indicate words that are non-Dravidian such as Sanskrit, Pali, Portuguese, Arabic, Dutch, English, Sinhalese, etc. These (marginal) words are historically known to be loans.

0.19 A NOTE ON THE READING TRANSCRIPTION IN ACCORDANCE WITH
THE CONVENTIONS OF THE TAMIL ORTHOGRAPHIC PRACTICE

0.19.1 The symbols of the reading transcription employed in this thesis cannot be interpreted without some understanding of the conventions of the orthographic system prevailing in Tamil. For instance, there are no separate symbols for voiced plosives and some of the fricatives. One of the striking features of the orthography of Tamil is the great economy in symbols when compared with the other three literary Dravidian languages (Telugu, Kanarese and Malayalam) and with the Indo-Aryan languages. This economy in orthographic symbols does not present any problem to a native speaker of Tamil, since it fits nicely into the phonological system of the language, at least as regards native Dravidian words. One orthographic symbol represents more than one sound. This is illustrated with the help of the following table. The examples cited in the table include native and marginal forms. All examples occur in the writer's colloquial speech. The reading transcription is followed by a phonetic transcription in I.P.A. symbols enclosed within square brackets.



0.19.2

Orthographic Symbol	Sound it represents with examples	Gloss
k	[k] kappal [kʌp:əl]	'ship'
	[g] paṅku [pʌŋgʊ]	'share'
	[h] nake [nʌhɛ]	'jewels'
c	[s] cate [sʌðɛ]	'flesh'
	[tʃ] ¹⁸ pacce [pʌtʃ:ɛ]	'green'
	[dʒ] inci [iŋdʒi]	'ginger'
	[ʃ] ¹⁹ ceev [ʃe:ʊ]	'shave'
t	[t̪] paṭṭam [pʌt̪:əm]	'nick name'
	[ɾ] paṭam [pʌɾəm]	'film show'
	[d̪] paṇṭi [pʌṇd̪i]	'pig'
	[t̪] layit̪ [lʌjɪt̪]	'light'
ṭ	[t̪] tappu [tʌp:u]	'fault'
	[ð] atu [ʌðu]	'it'
	[d̪] paṇṭu [pʌṇd̪u]	'ball'
p	[p] pallu [pʌl:u]	'tooth'
	[β] aapattu [a:βʌt:u]	'danger'
	[b] campal [sʌmbəl]	'salad'

18. The symbol $t̪$ represents the voiceless palato-alveolar affricate, with the stop element lengthened.

19. As the examples given suggest, [s] and [ʃ] can occur in the same environment. [ʃ] is restricted to a small number of borrowings from English.

R	{	[t]	oRRume	[ot:ume]	'unity'
	}	[r]	coRi	[sori]	'itch'
y	{	[j]	yocine	[jo:sine]	'idea'
	}	[dʒ] ²⁰	yappaan	[dʒap:a:n]	'Japan'
r	{	[t]	raakam	[ta:həm]	'tune'
	}	[f]	nari	[nʌfi]	'fox'

TABLE 0.2

0.19.3 Each of the symbols m , n , η , η , η , η , l , \lceil , and v unambiguously represents one sound. Of the two or three phonetic symbols used for each group of related sounds, one only is used in the reading transcription in which examples are cited throughout this thesis, and it will be apparent to a reader who knows Tamil that this reading transcription is essentially a transliteration of the Tamil orthography of the forms given. For example, though k represents $[k]$, $[g]$ and $[h]$, in the reading transcription only k has been used. Wherever necessary, phonetic transcriptions are given and in such phonetic transcriptions the exact value of the orthographic symbols concerned has been given.

0.19.4 In intervocalic position certain consonant sounds occur with appreciably long duration. In such instances the consonant symbols in question are written doubled (e.g. pp , tt , kk , mm , nn , etc.).

20. y represents the sound $[dʒ]$ only in a small number of borrowings from English.

0.19.5 In addition to the eighteen consonant symbols of Tamil orthography, five additional symbols borrowed from the Grantha alphabet are used by Tamilians when they have to write down in Tamil certain loanwords from Sanskrit, English, etc. These symbols are as follows: ஸ , ஜ , ஹ , ஷ , and ஶ . These orthographic symbols are pronounced [s], [dʒ], [h], [ʃ] and [kʃ]~[kʰ] respectively in isolation. There are people who, as a rule, avoid using these borrowed symbols in their writing and substitute for them existing Tamil symbols. In the present writer's speech [kʃ]~[kʰ] does not occur at all. [h] in word-initial position occurs only in loanwords. [ʃ] occurs intervocalically in native words and for this sound k will suffice in the reading transcription. While transliterating the Tamil script, c is used by the writer to represent [tʃ], [s], [dʒ] and [ʃ]. But where necessary, these more precise symbols have been used in the (phonetic)transcriptions.

0.19.6 Following the orthographic practice of using Grantha characters, what would be transcribed in Tamil as ஸ , ஜ and ஹ are transcribed as s , j and h respectively (e.g. polis 'police', jiip 'jeep' and heekkulis 'a brand of bicycle').

0.19.7 Of the fifteen major vowels in the dialect of Tamil under survey, five are long and ten are short. Since in the reading transcription two identical consonant symbols have been used to represent a long consonant, the same procedure has been followed in transcribing the long vowels too. [u:] for example, is always represented by uu , [o:] by oo and so on in the reading transcription throughout.

PART I

1

CHAPTER 1

1.1

VOWEL AND CONSONANT ARTICULATIONS

The brief description of vowel and consonant articulations found in this chapter is adequate to give phonetic values to the transcription employed in this thesis. Besides giving phonetic values to the transcription, the description of vowel and consonant articulations serves also as the phonetic basis on which phonological statements are made in the ensuing chapters. As the writer feels that a full representation of all perceivable and discriminable qualities of sound differences is something that is unrealizable, a somewhat narrow transcription capable of representing the amount of phonetic detail required in each instance is employed in the different parts of the thesis. If, in any instance, further phonetic details are called for, they will be given in the course of the discussion of particular problems. The phonetic statements made are based on the pronunciation of the writer.

1.1.2

Wherever possible, examples for each vowel and consonant articulation described will be given to illustrate their occurrence in absolute initial, medial and final positions.

1.2.1

Types of Transcription

Two transcriptions will be used in the

discussion. Neither has any theoretical status at this point other than simply to enable the reader to grasp some of the data.

1.3 Reading Transcription

1.3.1 Transcription 1 is a reading transcription which roughly follows Tamil orthographic practice and can be regarded as a simple transliteration (See above 0.19). The vocalic terms of the reading transcription are i , e , a , o , u , ii , ee , aa , oo , and uu . The consonantal terms of the reading transcription are p , t , ṭ , k , c , j , m , ṇ , n , ṉ , ṅ , ṇ , l , ḷ , r , R , s , h , v and y .

1.3.2 Each of the vocalic symbols, i , o , ii , ee , aa , oo and uu unambiguously represent one sound (See 1.11.1 - 1.11.4). The vocalic symbols, e , a , and u represent more than one sound. This is illustrated as follows:

<u>Vocalic symbol in</u> <u>the Rdg. Tpn.</u>	<u>Sound it represents</u> <u>with examples</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
e	$\left\{ \begin{array}{ll} [e] & \text{teRi} \quad [teri] \\ [ɛ] & \text{petṭe} \quad [peṭ:ɛ] \end{array} \right.$	<p>'button'</p> <p>'girl'</p>
a	$\left\{ \begin{array}{ll} [a] & \text{aṭuppu} \quad [aṭup:u] \\ [ə] & \text{iva} \quad [iʋə] \\ [æ] & \text{va} \quad [ʋæ] \\ [ʌ] & \text{kaṭṭe} \quad [kʌṭ:ɛ] \end{array} \right.$	<p>'fire hearth'</p> <p>'this woman(hon.)'</p> <p>'mouth'</p> <p>'mile'</p>

u { [u] uRi [uri] 'a' hanger made of coir'
 [ɯ] aaʔu [a:ɯ] 'sheep(sg.)'

It will perhaps be apparent that the qualities of short vowel sounds associated with a single vocalic symbol in the reading transcription are in complementary distribution.

Thus with regard to the orthographic symbol *e* , [ɛ] is restricted to word-final position and [e] occurs in all other positions. Similarly with regard to the orthographic symbol *a* , [ə] is restricted to word-final position, [æ] occurs finally in monosyllabic words and [a] occurs initially. [ʌ] occurs initially and medially, but it should be mentioned that in word-initial position, [ʌ] and [a] are in free variation. Thus the word aʔuppu is either [aʔɯp:ɯ] or [ʌʔɯp:ɯ]. With regard to the orthographic symbol *u* , [u] occurs in the initial syllable of words. [ɯ] occurs elsewhere, except where the preceding syllable contains a rounded vowel. In the latter instances [u] and [ɯ] are in free variation. Thus, for example, the nominal kompu is either [komɯ] or [kombɯ] in speech. But the nominal paampu is always [pa:mbɯ] in speech. In discussing minimal contrasts, it is enough to take into account the vowel unit as represented by the vowel letters in the reading transcription. For the sounds represented by the consonantal symbols of the reading transcription.

see a note on the reading transcription in accordance with the conventions of the Tamil orthographic practice on pages 51 - 55.

1.4 Phonetic Transcription

1.4.1 Transcription 2 is a phonetic transcription. In this, most of the symbols are the same as the ones used for the reading transcription described above. There are some additional consonant and vowel symbols - i.e., b, d, t, d̥, d̪, t̪, ɸ, r, β, ɔ̃, ʃ, h, ʌ, æ, ə, ε and u are used in the phonetic transcription in order to give more precise values to the sounds in question. In Tamil [t̪] and [t̪̥] occur. To differentiate between the two, [t̪̥] is used to represent the voiceless alveolar plosive, while the voiceless dental plosive is left unmarked.

1.5 VOWELS

1.5.1 It is necessary to distinguish fifteen 'pure vowels' for nominal forms in Jaffna Tamil. Of the fifteen, eight are front vowels, six are back vowels and one is a central vowel.

VOWEL LENGTH

1.5.2 Ten of the vowels are short vowels and five are long. In the reading transcription, a long vowel is symbolised by writing twice the symbol used in an I.P.A. type transcription, for denoting the shortest vowel nearest to it in tongue position. For example, the short

front close unrounded vowel is symbolised by *i* and the nearest long unrounded close front vowel is symbolised by *ii* . The symbols used for the short vowels are *i* , *e* , *a* , *o* and *u* and the symbols used for the long vowels are *ii* , *ee* , *aa* , *oo* and *uu* .

The appropriate tongue-positions of the fifteen pure vowels articulated in isolation are shown in the vowel diagram given below with reference to the cardinal vowels. (The symbols used here are naturally phonetic symbols and not units from the reading transcription).

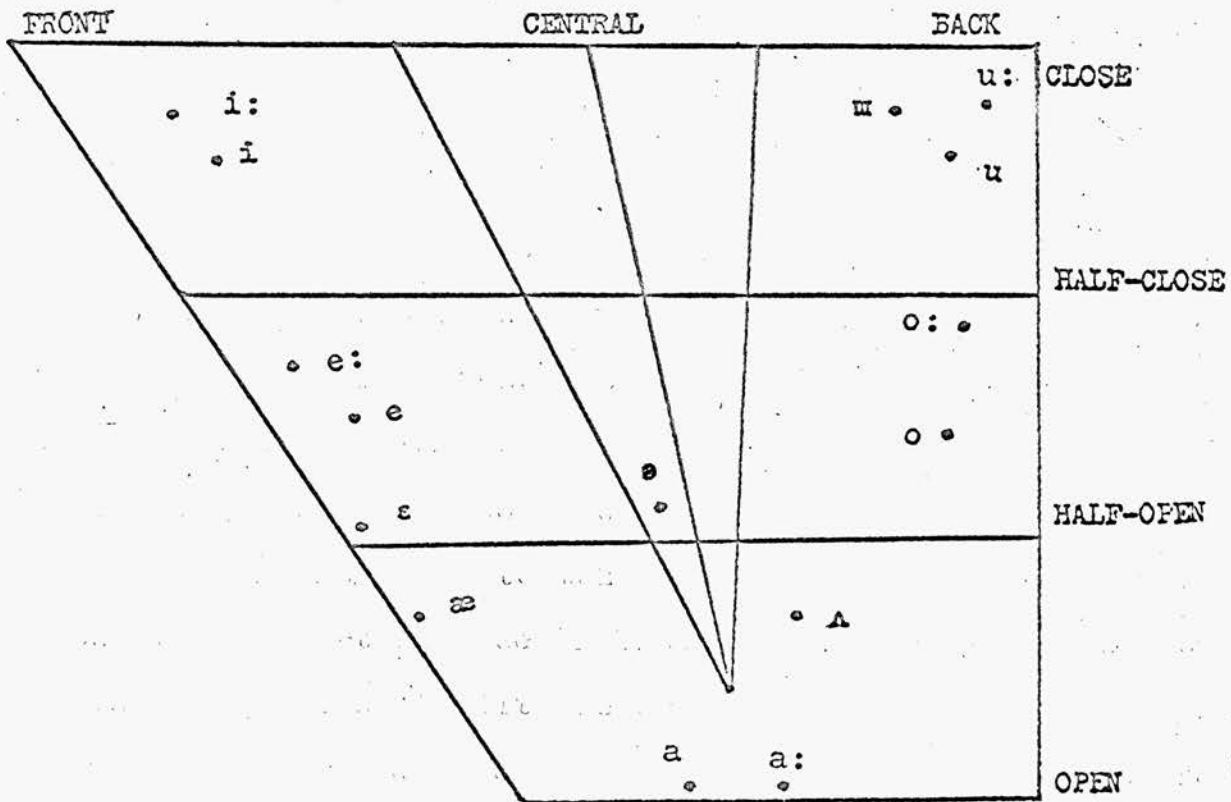


DIAGRAM 1.1

Vowels

1.5.3 The articulatory description of vowel sounds in Jaffna Tamil will be given under two sub-sections: short vowels and long vowels; during the articulation of all vowels, the soft palate is raised.

Short Vowels

1.5.4 [i] represents a short front close unrounded vowel. The front of the tongue is raised towards the hard palate with a tongue position intermediate between close and half-close, the highest part of the tongue being slightly retracted from the full front position.

1.5.5 [e] is a short front unrounded vowel with a tongue position intermediate between half-close and half-open. The front of the tongue is raised towards the hard palate. It is opener than cardinal 2, closer than cardinal 3 and is nearer to cardinal 2 than to 3 .

1.5.6 [ɛ] represents a short front vowel very near cardinal 3 . The front of the tongue is raised towards the hard palate. The lips are spread and the distance between the jaws is medium - neither 'narrow' as for [i:] nor wide as for [ʌ] .

1.5.7 [æ] is a short front unrounded vowel with a tongue position intermediate between half-open and open. The front part of the tongue is the highest.

1.5.8 [a] represents a short open unrounded vowel intermediate between front and back. The highest part of the tongue is between the front and back of the tongue.

1.5.9 [ʌ] is a short back vowel between open and half-open, but nearer half-open than open. In articulating [ʌ], the fore-part of the back of the tongue is highest in the oral cavity. The lips are spread and there is a rather wide distance between the jaws.

1.5.10 [o] represents a short back rounded vowel with a tongue position intermediate between half-close and half-open. The back of the tongue is raised towards the soft palate. It is opener than cardinal 7 but nearer to cardinal 7 than to 6. [o] is a rounded vowel, the degree of lip-rounding being "open lip-rounding".

1.5.11 [u] is a short close back rounded vowel with a tongue position intermediate between half-close and close, slightly advanced. The back of the tongue is raised towards the soft palate. [u] is a rounded vowel, the degree of lip-rounding being "close lip-rounding".

1.5.12 [ɯ] represents a short close back vowel, slightly advanced from cardinal 16. The back of the tongue is raised towards the soft palate. The lips are spread and the distance between the jaws is narrow.

[ə] is a short central vowel, between half-open and half-close. The part of the tongue that is highest is the 'centre' of the tongue, i.e., what Daniel Jones calls "the junction between 'front' and 'back'" (Jones, 1969, p.89). The lips are spread and the distance between the jaws is narrow.

Long Vowels

1.5.14 [i:] represents a long front close unrounded vowel. The tongue is raised almost to the close position. [i:] is closer than [i] and appears to be more tense.

The front of the tongue is raised towards the hard palate.

1.5.15 [e:] is a long front unrounded vowel. The tongue is raised almost to the half-close position. [e:] is closer to [e] and appears to be more tense. The front of the tongue is raised towards the hard palate.

1.5.16 [a:] represents a long open unrounded vowel with a tongue position somewhat advanced from the fully back position. [a:] appears to be more tense than [a]. The highest part of the tongue is the front of the tongue.

1.5.17 [o:] is a long back rounded vowel. The tongue is raised almost to the half-close position. [o:] is closer than [o] and appears to be more tense. It is almost like cardinal 7. The back part of the tongue is raised towards the soft palate. [o:] is a rounded vowel,

the degree of lip-rounding being "open lip-rounding".

1.5.18 [u:] represents a long close back rounded vowel. The tongue is raised almost to the close position. [u:] is closer than and further back than [u] and appears to be more tense. The back of the tongue is raised towards the soft palate. [u:] is a rounded vowel, the degree of lip-rounding being "close lip-rounding".

1.6

LIP-POSITION

Spread: i , i: , e , e: , u .

Neutral: a , a: , ə , ε , æ , ʌ .

Rounded: u , u: , o , o: .

1.7

JAW-OPENING

Narrow: i , i: , u , u: , ʊ .

Medium: e , e: , o , o: , ε , ʌ , ə .

Wide: a , a: , æ .

1.8

VOICE

All vowels are produced with vibration of the vocal cords and are voiced.

1.9

NASALIZATION

1.9.1 The vowels following nasal consonants or those that are flanked by nasal consonants on either side are nasalized even if the nasals belong to two consecutive syllables.

Examples

maamaa [mã:mã:] 'maternal uncle' , maŋi [mãŋĩ] 'bell'

manican [mãñĩsẽn] 'man' , canam [sãñẽm] 'people'
 ka[ame [kãrãmẽ] 'duty'

See kymograms 40 - 45.

1.9.2 The vowels preceding or following non-nasal consonants or those hedged between two non-nasal consonants are not nasalized. In such instances, the vowels are articulated with the soft palate raised.

e.g. paati [pa:ði] 'half' , caati [sa:ði] 'caste'
 cakkare [sãk:ãfẽ] 'brown sugar , vale [vãlẽ] 'net'
 tu[e [tutẽ] 'thigh'

See kymograms 24, 27, 29, 31, 33, 64 and 65.

1.9.3 Nasalization is not distinctive as a vocalic element. It is a feature of the syllable in Jaffna Tamil. A detailed treatment of nasalization as a feature of the syllable is postponed to its appropriate context in Chapter 3 (3.8.1 - 3.8.10).

1.10 Vowel Length

Vowel length is of significance in Jaffna Tamil. The distinction of long and short vowels is clearly marked by difference in duration. A long form of the vowel differing from the short one is to be identified with respect to all vowels discussed in 1.5.2 and 1.5.14 - 1.5.18. The fact that vowel length distinctions provide lexical contrast in nominals can be demonstrated with the help of the following table and minimal pairs. The points at which the five

rows and columns meet are marked by the five numerals 1 - 5 and the examples of minimal pairs are given below as cross reference to each of these five numerals indicating the meeting points of rows and columns.

	ii	ee	aa	oo	uu
i	1				
e		2			
a			3		
o				4	
u					5

TABLE 1.1

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. inam [inəm] 'relation' ¹ | 4. o[t]al [o[t]:əl] 'that which is lean' |
| ii nam [i:nəm] 'pity' | oo[t]al [o:[t]:əl] 'hotel' |
| 2. etu [eɔ̃w] 'which thing' | |
| eetu [e:ɔ̃w] 'from where' | 5. umal [umʌl] 'an ola basket' |
| 3. a[t]i [aɾi] 'one foot' | |
| aa[t]i [a:tɪ] 'the month of July' | uumal [u:mʌl] 'dried palmyra seed' |

-
1. The glosses provided in this thesis are only 'translation meanings' for the purpose of identification of nominals. See Firth (1957b, p.28).

1.11 LIST OF EXAMPLES OF CONTRASTIVE PAIRS

1.11.1 i contrasts with ii , e and ee in the following minimal pairs (See 1.3.2):

i	vs	ii	$\begin{cases} \text{ti} \text{t} \text{t} \text{u} [\text{ti} \text{t} : \text{w}] & \text{'scolding'} \\ \text{tii} \text{t} \text{t} \text{u} [\text{ti} : \text{t} : \text{w}] & \text{'pollution'} \end{cases}$
i	vs	e	$\begin{cases} \text{pi} \text{t} \text{t} \text{i} [\text{pi} \text{t} : \text{i}] & \text{'elevated land'} \\ \text{pe} \text{t} \text{t} \text{i} [\text{pe} \text{t} : \text{i}] & \text{'box'} \end{cases}$
i	vs	ee	$\begin{cases} \text{pin} [\text{pin}] & \text{'pin'} \\ \text{peen} [\text{pe} : \text{n}] & \text{'louse'} \end{cases}$

1.11.2 e contrasts with ee , a and aa in the following minimal pairs:

e	vs	ee	$\begin{cases} \text{ce} \text{t} \text{t} \text{e} [\text{se} \text{t} : \text{e}] & \text{'wing'} \\ \text{cee} \text{t} \text{t} \text{e} [\text{se} : \text{t} : \text{e}] & \text{'pranks'} \end{cases}$
e	vs	a	$\begin{cases} \text{ve} \text{t} \text{i} [\text{ve} \text{t} : \text{i}] & \text{'outside'} \\ \text{va} \text{t} \text{i} [\text{v}^{\wedge} \text{a} \text{t} : \text{i}] & \text{'way'} \end{cases}$
e	vs	aa	$\begin{cases} \text{ce} \text{t} \text{t} \text{u} [\text{se} \text{t} : \text{w}] & \text{'economy'} \\ \text{caa} \text{t} \text{t} \text{u} [\text{sa} : \text{t} : \text{w}] & \text{'pretext'} \end{cases}$

1.11.3 a contrasts with aa , o and oo in the following minimal pairs:

a	vs	aa	$\begin{cases} \text{pa} \text{t} \text{t} \text{u} [\text{p}^{\wedge} \text{a} \text{t} : \text{w}] & \text{'silk'} \\ \text{paa} \text{t} \text{t} \text{u} [\text{pa} : \text{t} : \text{w}] & \text{'song'} \end{cases}$
---	----	----	--

a vs o	{	paɪ	[pʌɪ]	'step'
		poɪ	[pɒɪ]	'snuff'
a vs oo	{	kaɪ	[kʌɪ]	'paste'
		kooɪ	[ko:ɪ]	'fowl'

1.11.4 o contrasts with oo, u and uu in the following minimal pairs:

o vs oo	{	koɪ	[kɒɪ]	'flag'
		kooɪ	[ko:ɪ]	'backyard of a house'
o vs u	{	poɪtu	[po:ɪu]	'an ornamental mark'
		puɪtu	[pu:ɪu]	'a kind of cake'
o vs uu	{	kottu	[kot:u]	'a measure'
		kuuttu	[ku:t:u]	'drama'

1.12 VOWEL DISTRIBUTION

1.12.1 Examples of nominal forms in which each of the vowels described above occurs in one or more of the following positions, absolute initial, medial and absolute final are shown below in tables 1.2, 1.3 and 1.4. It may be noted that all the short and long vowels occur in the initial and medial positions. In the final position, there are restrictions. [a], [o] and [ʌ] do not occur finally.

1.12.2 In the native class, *ii* occurs in absolute final position only in the following forms: nii 'you',

pii 'faeces' and tii² 'fire'. In the marginal class, the choice of forms occurring with ii in absolute final position is restricted to two: kii 'key' and rii [ti:] 'tea' 'tea'.

1.12.3 ee occurs in the absolute final position in the native class in only one form, pee 'devil', and in the marginal class, mee³ 'the month of May', tee⁴ 'tea', piyee 'B.A. degree', emmee 'M.A. degree' and piyecee 'B.S.A - a brand of vehicles'. Nominals taking the interrogative suffix -ee (e.g. avanee 'is it he') are not taken into account here.

1.12.4 There is only one lexical item in the native class that occurs with uu in the absolute final position (e.g. puu 'flower'). In the marginal class, there are only two such lexical items (e.g. kuu 'coup d' etat' and kiyuu 'queue'). uu occurs only in a few forms in the absolute initial position in the marginal class.

1.12.5 oo occurs in the absolute final position in the native class in only one form, noo 'pain' and in several forms in the marginal class (e.g. kokkoo 'cocoa', tipppoo 'depot' etc.). Nominals taking the interrogative

2, 3 & 4. These nominals do not occur in isolation. They occur in compounds such as tiimitippu 'fire walking', meetinam 'May day', teeyile 'tea leaf' etc.

suffix -oo (e.g. avanoo 'is it he') are not taken into account here.

1.12.6 To summarise, then, the occurrence of the long vowels, there are severe restrictions on the occurrence of almost all of them except aa and oo in the absolute final position. In general terms, ii, ee and uu are essentially non-final in the nominal forms of the language.

Tables 1.2, 1.3 and 1.4 show the possibilities of occurrence of the different vowels in initial, medial and final positions.

INITIAL				
	Native	Gloss	Marginal	Gloss
i	iṭi	'thunder'	iṅkilis	'English language'
ii	iiral	'liver'	iicu	'proper name (fem.)'
e	eru	'dung of cattle'	emṭan	'a fraudulent man'
ee	eekkam	'anxiety'	eelam	'auction'
a	ali	'hermaphrodite'	antar	'one hundred weight'
aa	aacci	'grandmother'	aaspattiri	'hospital'
o	oRRume	'unity'	osrin	'Austin (car)'
oo	ooram	'edge'	ooṭali	'hospital assistant'
u	ulakke	'pestle'	uyil	'will'
uu	uuḷe	'howl'	uuci	'needle'

TABLE 1.2

MEDIAL				
	Native	Gloss	Marginal	Gloss
i	viciRi	'an ola fan'	Rim	'rim'
ii	tiṅku	'harm'	Riil	'reel'
e	veRi	'intoxication'	mecin	'machine'

ee	peer	'name'	neevi	'navy'
a	vayal	'field'	pavu [†] ar	'powder'
aa	vaal	'tail'	kaanival	'carnival'
o	pollu	'walking stick'	koppi	'exercise book'
oo	kootu	'peel of fruit'	koo [†] t [†] aa	'quota'
u	kuRi	'mark'	pucal	'bushel'
uu	kuuRe	'bridal sari'	yuuri	'jury'

TABLE 1.3

FINAL				
	Native	Gloss	Marginal	Gloss
i	cevi	'ear'	loRi	'lorry'
ii	pii	'faeces'	rii [ti:]	'tea'
e	kule	'bunch'	koo [†] te	'fort'
ee	pee	'devil'	piyee	'B.A. degree'
a	-		-	
aa	pulaa	'an ola vessel'	kameRaa	'camera'
o	-		-	
oo	noo	'pain'	Riccoo	'rickshaw'
u	cun [†] tu	'a measure'	koo [†] tu	'legal court'
uu	puu	'flower'	kiyuu	'queue'

TABLE 1.4

1.13

CONSONANTS

1.13.1

The classes of consonant articulations and the symbols used to refer to them in this thesis are set

	Bi-labial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal	No. of Sym-bols
Plosive	p b		t d	t̥		t̪ d̪		k g		9
Affricate					tʃ dʒ					2
Nasal	m		n̪	n		ɳ	ɲ	ŋ		6
Lateral					l	ɭ				2
Flapped				ɾ		ɽ				2
Rolled				r						1
Fricative	β		ð	s	ʃ				h ɦ	6
Continuant		ʋ					j			2
Total number of transcriptional units										30

TABLE I.5

out in Table 1.5 . As can be seen from the table, the symbols have been selected in accordance with the principles of the International Phonetic Association.

CONSONANT DISTRIBUTION

1.13.2 The consonant sounds shown in table 1.5 are described under the following heads: Plosive, Affricate, Lateral, Flapped , Rolled, Fricative and Continuant. As with the vowel distribution, the following observations concerning the distribution of consonant articulations pertain only to the nominal forms occurring frequently in the colloquial speech of the writer. Wherever possible, examples for the occurrence of consonant sounds in the initial, intervocalic and final positions are given in tables 1.6, 1.7 and 1.8 respectively.

1.13.3 Initially in native forms, [p], [t], [k], [m], [n], [s] and [ʊ] occur quite frequently. [r] and [j] occur initially only in two instances (e.g. Recci [ret:ʃi] 'flesh', Raal [ra:l] 'prawn', yaa[ppaanam] [ja:lp:a:ŋəm] 'Jaffna (place name)' and yaa [ja:] 'an expectant mother's craving for delicious food'). [t̪] and [l] occur only in one instance (See table 1.6).

1.13.4 Medially in intervocalic position, [m], [n], [ŋ], [l], [ɭ], [ɾ], [ɽ], [r], [ð], [s], [h], [ʊ] and [j] occur quite frequently in native forms. [b], [d̪], [t̪], [d̪], [ʈ], [g], [dʒ], [ŋ̌], [ɳ], [ŋ̌] and [β] occur as an

element of a medial consonant cluster in native forms (See 1.23.2) and 1.23.3).

1.13.5 The possibilities of consonant articulations in word-final position is limited to [m], [n], [ŋ], [l], [ʃ], [ɾ] and [j] in native forms.

1.13.6 Initially in marginal forms, [p], [b], [t], [ʈ], [d], [k], [m], [n], [l], [r], [s], [ʃ] and [j] occur quite freely. [g], [tʃ], [dʒ], [ɳ] and [h] occur initially in a few lexical items such as kaRaac [gʌra:tʃ] 'garage', cek [tʃek] 'cheque', jinnaa [dʒin:a:] 'proper name(mas.)', naani [na:ni] 'an ascetic', honɽaa [honɽa:] 'a brand of motor vehicle', etc. Intervocally in such forms, [b], [m], [n], [ŋ], [l], [ʃ], [ɾ], [t], [r], [β], [ð], [s], [h], [ʃ] and [j] occur. [ʈ], [ɖ], [d], [ʈ], [g], [dʒ], [ɳ], [ɳ] and [ŋ] occur as one of the elements of a medial consonant cluster (See 1.24.2 and 1.25.2). In word-final position, [p], [ʈ], [ʈ], [k], [m], [n], [ŋ], [l], [ʃ], [ɾ] and [s] occur quite often. The occurrence of [ʈ], [tʃ], [ŋ], [ʃ] and [j] is limited to a handful of lexical items such as Rooɽ [ro:ɽ] 'road', rooc [to:tʃ] 'torch', raaŋ [ta:ŋ] 'tank', sroov [sto:ʃ] 'stove', tay [tʌj] 'the month of January' etc.

TYPES OF CONSONANT ARTICULATION

1.13.7 All the consonant articulations in the Tamil dialect under survey are produced as a result of the

pulmonic egressive air-stream mechanism.

1.14

PLOSIVES

1.14.1 Nine of the thirty consonant articulations are plosives. These nine may be further classified as bilabial, apical or dorsal. An apical articulation may be dental or alveolar or retroflex and the dorsal plosive articulation is velar.

1.14.2 Of the nine plosives, only [p], [t], [t̚] and [k] occur initially in native forms. [b], [d̚], [t̚], [d̚] and [g] occur as an element of a medial cluster. None of the plosives occurs finally in native forms (See table 1.8).

1.14.3 All the plosives except [d̚] and [t̚] can begin a marginal nominal form. None of the plosives except [b] occurs intervocalically and that too only in a handful of marginal lexical items. [p], [b], [t̚], [t̚], [k] and [g] occur finally in marginal forms.

1.14.4 The voiced plosives are fully voiced in both word-initial and medial positions.

1.14.5 [p] is a voiceless bilabial plosive. In articulating [p], the two lips are brought close together, thus blocking the oral passage of air. The nasal passage of air is blocked by the raised soft palate. When the lips are separated, the air that is compressed by pressure from the lungs escapes with an explosive noise. The vocal cords

do not vibrate (See kymograms 10 - 12, 19, 21 ,27 and 29).

1.14.6 [b] is a voiced bilabial plosive. It is articulated just like [p] except that the vocal cords vibrate producing voice (See kymograms 2, 7, 12 and 48).

1.14.7 [t] represents a voiceless dental plosive. In articulating [t], the tip of the tongue is brought into contact with the front upper teeth, thus forming the complete closure of the oral passage of air. The soft palate is raised. When the tip of the tongue is removed from the front upper teeth, the air that is compressed by pressure from the lungs escapes with an explosive sound. The vocal cords do not vibrate (See palatogram 2 and kymograms 8, 20 and 64).

1.14.8 [d] is a voiced dental plosive, articulated just like [t] except that the vocal cords vibrate producing voice (See palatogram 14 and kymograms 3 and 14).

1.14.9 [t̪] is a voiceless alveolar plosive. The tip and blade of the tongue are placed against the alveolar ridge, thus blocking the oral passage of air. The soft palate is raised so that the nasal passage of air is blocked as well. When the tip and blade of the tongue are removed from the alveolar ridge, the air that is compressed by pressure from the lungs escapes with an explosive noise. The vocal cords do not vibrate (See palatogram 3 and kymograms 15, 23 and 25).

1.14.10 [ʈ] is a voiceless retroflex plosive. In forming [ʈ], the tip of the tongue is curled back to touch the hard palate, thereby blocking the passage of air. The soft palate is raised, thus preventing the air from escaping through the nose. When the tip of the tongue is removed from the hard palate, the air that is compressed by pressure from the lungs escapes with an explosive sound. The vocal cords do not vibrate See kymograms 26, 27, 62 and 66).

1.14.11 [ɖ] is a voiced retroflex plosive, articulated just like [ʈ] except that the vocal cords vibrate producing voice (See palatogram 7 and kymograms 4, 9, 46 and 47).

1.14.12 [k] is a voiceless velar plosive. In articulating [k], the back of the tongue is made to touch the soft palate, thereby blocking the oral passage of air. The soft palate is raised thus shutting the nasal passage of air as well. When the back of the tongue is removed from the soft palate, the air that is compressed by pressure from the lungs escapes with an explosive sound. The vocal cords do not vibrate. The place of articulation varies from a position at the front of the soft palate as in kiiri 'mongoose' to a full back position on the soft palate as in kuuRu 'portion' (See kymograms 4, 5, 14, 16, 17, 24, 25 and 60).

1.14.13 [g] is a voiced velar plosive, articulated just like [k] except that the vocal cords vibrate (See kymograms 5 and 10).

1.15

AFFRICATES

1.15.1 The two affricate articulations identifiable in nominals are [tʃ] and [dʒ]. Both these affricates do not occur in the initial, intervocalic and final positions in native forms (See tables 1.6, 1.7 and 1.8). [tʃ] occurs medially as a long consonant and [dʒ] as element of a medial consonant cluster in native forms (See kymogram 6).

1.15.2 In marginal forms, [tʃ] occurs initially and finally. It also occurs medially as a long consonant (See palatogram 8). [dʒ] occurs only initially. It also occurs as an element of a medial homorganic cluster in marginal forms (See palatogram 9 and kymogram 11).

1.15.3 In the articulation of [tʃ], the tip and blade of the tongue are made to touch a point on the roof of the mouth immediately behind the alveolar ridge thus blocking the oral passage of air completely. The soft palate is raised so that the nasal passage of air is blocked, too. When the stop is being held, air is compressed by pressure from the lungs. When the tongue is removed from the roof of the mouth in such a way that the homorganic fricative is heard before any following sound is reached.

The vocal cords do not vibrate. [tʃ] is therefore a voiceless palato-alveolar affricate.

1.15.4 [dʒ] is articulated just like [tʃ] described above, except that in articulating [dʒ] the vocal cords vibrate, producing voice (See palatogram 9 and kymograms 6 and 11).

1.16

NASALS

1.16.1 The six nasal consonant articulations distinguishable in nominals are further classified as bilabial, dental, alveolar, retroflex, palatal and velar. Of these [m] and [n] occur often initially, intervocalically and finally in native forms. [ɲ] occurs only intervocalically and finally. [ɳ] and [ŋ] occur only as an element of a medial ^hhomorganic cluster.

1.16.2 In marginal forms, [m] and [n] occur often initially, intervocalically and finally. [ɲ] occurs only intervocalically and finally. [ɳ] occurs only initially and that too in only a few lexical items such as naapakam [na:βʌhəm] 'remembrance', naanam [na:nəm] 'knowledge' etc., and some compound proper names in which the first part of the compound is naanam (e.g. naanalin̩kam (mas.), naaneesvaran (mas.), naanaampike (fem.) and naaneesvari (fem.)). [ŋ] occurs only as an element of a medial homorganic cluster and finally it occurs as a single consonant

in a handful of lexical items (e.g. moocan [mo:t:ʃən] 'jaws harp', poo^hin [bo:tin] 'boarding', etc.).

1.16.3 To summarise, [m] and [n] occur in all the three positions in both native and marginal forms (See 3.11.11 - 3.11.13). [ŋ] occurs only intervocalically and finally in both the classes (See 3.11.12 - 3.11.13). [ɲ] and [ɳ] occur initially and finally respectively only in marginal forms (See tables 1.6 and 1.8). [ɲ] does not occur anywhere except as an element of a consonant cluster in native and marginal forms (See palatogram 14 and kymograms 3, 8 and 14).

1.16.4 [m] is a voiced bilabial nasal. In articulating [m], the two lips are brought together. The soft palate is lowered and the air that is compressed by pressure from the lungs escapes through the nose. The vocal cords vibrate producing voice (See kymograms 44 and 45).

1.16.5 [ɲ] is a voiced dental nasal. In articulating [ɲ], the tip of the tongue is brought into contact with the front upper teeth, thus forming the complete closure of the oral passage of air. The soft palate is lowered. The air that is compressed by pressure from the lungs escapes through the nose. The vocal cords vibrate producing voice (See palatogram 14 and kymograms 3, 8 and 14).

1.16.6 [n] is a voiced alveolar nasal. In arti-

culating [n], the tip and blade of the tongue touch the middle of the teeth-ridge and there appears to be no contact with the teeth. The soft palate is lowered and the air escapes through the nose. The vocal cords vibrate producing voice (See palatograms 11 and 12 and kymograms 42, 50, 52 and 53).

1.16.7 In traditional descriptions of Tamil, [n] has also been classified as a dental nasal along with the dental series of plosives. Such a classification is only justified in the nasal + plosive group [nd_{nd}] and not when [n] occurs as a single element.

1.16.8 [ɳ] is a voiced retroflex nasal. The tip of the tongue is curled back to touch the hard palate. The soft palate is lowered and the air that is compressed by pressure from the lungs escapes through the nose. The vocal cords vibrate producing voice (See palatogram 17 and kymograms 43, 49 and 60).

1.16.9 [ɲ] is a voiced palatal nasal. In articulating [ɲ], the tip of the tongue is spread, and contact is made against the teeth-ridge and the hard palate by the front of the tongue. The soft palate is lowered and the air escapes through the nose (See kymograms 6, 11 and 42).

1.16.10 [ŋ] is a voiced velar nasal. The back of the tongue is made to touch the soft palate. The soft palate is lowered and the air that is compressed by

pressure from the lungs escapes through the nose. The vocal cords vibrate producing voice (See kymograms 5 and 10).

1.17

LATERALS

1.17.1 Of the two laterals distinguishable in the nominals, one is an alveolar and the other is retroflex. In native words, [l] occurs initially only in one form (See table 1.6). It occurs quite frequently in the intervocalic and final positions. [ɭ] is typically non-initial and occurs freely in the intervocal and final positions in native forms.

1.17.2 In marginal forms, [l] occurs in all the three positions quite freely. [ɭ] often occurs intervocalically and finally.

1.17.3 [l] is a voiced alveolar lateral. In articulating [l], the tip and blade of the tongue are in contact with the teeth-ridge and the air escapes over one or both sides of the tongue. The soft palate is raised. The vocal cords vibrate producing voice (See palatogram 19 and kymograms 11, 16 and 39).

1.17.4 [ɭ] is a voiced retroflex lateral. The tip of the tongue is curled back to touch the hard palate. The soft palate is raised, thus shutting off the nasal passage of air. The air that is compressed by pressure

from the lungs escapes through one side or both sides of the tongue (See palatograms 21 and 22 and kymograms 69 and 72).

1.18

FLAPPED

1.18.1 [ɾ] is non-initial in native and marginal forms and occurs very often in the intervocalic and final positions in both these two classes.

1.18.2 [ɽ] occurs only intervocalically in both native and marginal forms.

1.18.3 [ɹ] is an alveolar flap articulation. In articulating [ɹ], the tip of the tongue touches the teeth-ridge very lightly. The tip of the tongue is made to tap the alveolar ridge just once. The soft palate is raised. The vocal cords vibrate, producing voice (See palatogram 25 and kymograms 5, 7 and 23).

1.18.4 [ɻ] is a retroflex flap. The tip of the tongue is curled back and brought very near the mid palatal region. It is then suddenly flapped forward so that it brushes against the pre-palatal region. The soft palate is raised. The vocal cords vibrate, producing voice (See palatograms 23 and 24 and kymograms 35 and 36).

1.19

ROLLED

1.19.1 [r] is typically intervocalic in native forms and rarely occurs initially (See 1.13.3). It does not occur finally (See table 1.8). It occurs only

initially and medially in marginal forms. It also occurs as an element of a medial heterorganic cluster in marginal forms (See 1.25.2).

1.19.2 [r] is a voiced alveolar trill (rolled).

The tip of the tongue is made to tap on the alveolar ridge successively for a number of times. The velum is raised thus shutting off the nasal passage of air. The vocal cords vibrate, producing voice (See palatogram 26 and kymogram 59). This trill is in free variation with the alveolar flap in intervocalic positions (See 34 and 67 - 75).

1.20

FRICATIVES

1.20.1

The six fricatives found in the nominals can be classified as labial, dental, denti-alveolar, palato-alveolar and glottal. [β] occurs only in the intervocalic position and that too only in marginal forms (See 3.11.20). It occurs as an element of a medial heterorganic cluster in native forms in two instances (See examples 7 and 12 in 1.24.3 of this chapter). [ð] occurs only intervocalically in native and marginal forms (See 3.11.20, palatogram 27 and kymograms 33, 34, 38 and 65). [s] is non-final in native forms (See table 1.8). In these, it occurs very often in the initial and intervocalic positions (See palatograms 28 and 29 and tables 1.6 and 1.7). In marginal forms, it very

freely occurs in all the three positions (See tables 1.6, 1.7, 1.8, and 3.11.20 - 3.11.22 and kymograms 15, 26, 31, 33, 40, 54, 55 and 61). [ʃ] occurs in all the three positions though the occurrences are relatively few in each case (See tables 1.6, 1.7, 1.8 and 3.11.20 - 3.11.22). [h] is non-final in both native and marginal forms (See table 1.8). [h] occurs only intervocalically in native and marginal forms (See 3.11.20). [h] occurs initially in a few instances (See table 1.6 and 3.11.21).

1.20.2 [β] represents a voiced bilabial fricative. The lips are opened slightly so that the space between them is very narrow. The air that is compressed by pressure from the lungs escapes through this narrow passage between the lips, producing audible friction. The soft palate is raised. The vocal cords vibrate, producing voice (See kymograms 30 and 31).

1.20.3 [ð] represents a voiced dental fricative. The tip of the tongue is placed against the front two upper teeth in such a way that the space between the tip of the tongue and the teeth is very narrow. The air that is compressed by pressure from the lungs passes through this narrow space, providing audible friction. The soft palate is raised. The vocal cords vibrate producing voice (See palatogram 27 and kymograms 33, 34, 38 and 65).

1.20.4 [s] represents a voiceless alveolar

fricative. In articulating [s], the tip and blade of the tongue are in contact with the teeth-ridge leaving only a very narrow central groove through which the air escapes with a hissing sound. The soft palate is raised. The vocal cords are apart - they do not vibrate (See palatograms 28 and 29 and kymograms 15, 26, 31, 33, 40, 54 and 55).

1.20.5 [ʃ] represents a voiceless palato-alveolar fricative. The tip and blade of the tongue are brought very close to a point in the oral cavity that is behind the alveolar ridge so that the space between these two articulating organs is extremely narrow. The air that is compressed by pressure from the lungs escapes through this narrow passage producing audible friction. The soft palate is raised. The vocal cords are apart - they do not vibrate (See palatogram 30).

1.20.6 [h] is a voiceless glottal fricative. The glottis is open and the air that is compressed by pressure from the lungs escapes through the glottis with friction. It typically has the friction of the resonance of the following vowel.

1.20.7 [ɦ] is articulated just like [h] except that the vocal cords vibrate, producing voice (See kymogram 37).

1.21 CONTINUANTS

1.21.1 Of the two continuants distinguishable in

the nominals, one is a labio-dental and the other is palatal. [ɔ] is non-final in native forms (See table 1.8). In them, it occurs very often in the initial and intervocalic positions. In the marginal forms, it occurs quite often in the initial and intervocalic positions (See tables 1.6, 1.7 and 3.11.25 - 3.11.26). In the final position its occurrence is limited to a very few lexical items (See table 1.8 and 3.11.28).

1.21.2 In native forms [j] is essentially non-initial in occurrence (See table 1.6). It freely occurs in the intervocalic position (See table 1.7 and 3.11.25). It occurs finally only in a few forms such as kay [kʌj] 'hand', pay [pʌj] 'bag', poy [poj] 'lie' etc. In the marginal forms too, there are restrictions on the occurrence of [j]. It often occurs initially and intervocalically (See tables 1.6, 1.7 and 3.11.25 - 3.11.26). In the final position, its occurrence is restricted to a mere handful of lexical items like tay [tʌj] 'the month of January', ney [nej] 'ghee' etc.

1.21.3 Initially [ɔ] is not followed by [o], [u], [o:] and [u:] in native forms and by [u], [u:] and [o] in marginal forms. Initially [j] is followed only by [a:] in native forms (See table 1.6 and 1.13.3). In marginal forms, in the initial position, it is only followed by [u], [u:], [a], [o:], [e:] and [a:] .

1.21.4 [ʋ] represents a voiced labio-dental frictionless continuant. In articulating [ʋ], the lower lip is brought into contact with the upper teeth but the contact is not close enough to produce friction during the passage of air between them. The air that is compressed by pressure from the lungs escapes through the gap between the upper teeth and lower lip causing no friction. The velum is raised. The vocal cords vibrate, producing voice.

1.21.5 [j] is a voiced palatal continuant. In articulating [j], the tongue is almost in the same position as for the articulation of [i:], and moves quickly to the position of the following vowel. The lips are spread slightly. The vocal cords vibrate, producing voice.

Tables 1.6, 1.7 and 1.8, which follow, show the possibilities of occurrence of the different consonants in initial, intervocalic and final positions.

INITIAL				
	Native	Gloss	Marginal	Gloss
p	paRi	'an ola basket'	peyinR [pejint]	'paint'
b	-		poonas [bo:nʌs]	'bonus'
t	taʃe	'obstacle'	taar [ta:f]	'tar'
d	-		-	
t̪	renʃu [t̪end̪u]	'two'	rikkeʃ [ʃik:et]	'ticket'
t̪	-		-	
d̪	-		ʃaakkuttar [d̪a:kʷt̪:ʃ]	'doctor'
k	kamam	'farming'	komiʃi [komit̪:i]	'committee'
g	-		kiyar [gij̪ɐ]	'gear'
t̪	-		ceec [t̪e:t̪]	'church'

ɔ̃	-	yappaan [ɔ̃ap:a:n] 'Japan'
m	moɭi 'knuckle'	mooɭar [mo:ɭ:ar] 'motor'
n̄	-	-
n	naattu 'transplantation'	naaval [na:ɔ̃al] 'novel'
ŋ	-	-
ɳ	-	ɳaanam [ɳa:nəm] 'proper name (fem.)'
ŋ	-	-
l	laattu 'stroll'	liivu [li:ɔ̃u] 'leave'
ɭ	-	-
r	-	-
ɽ	Recci [ret:ʃi] 'flesh'	Riciiɭ [risi:t] 'receipt'
β	-	-
ð	-	-
s	caayal [sa:jəl] 'resem- blance'	caluun [sɔ̃lu:n] '(barber) saloon'
ʃ	-	ceev [ʃe:ʊ] 'shave'
h	-	heekkulis [he:kʊlis] 'a brand of bicycle'
ɦ	-	-
ʋ	veɭam [ʋe:əm] 'flood'	vicil [ʋisil] 'whistle'
j	yaaɭppaanam [ja:ɭp:a:ɳəm] 'Jaffna(place name)'	yaar [ja:f] 'yard'

TABLE 1.6

INTERVOCALIC			
	Native	Gloss	Marginal Gloss
p	-		-
b	-		Rapar [r^baɾ] 'rubber'
t	-		-
ḍ	-		-
ṭ	-		-
ṭ	-		-
ḍ	-		-
k	-		-
g	-		-
tʃ	-		-
dʒ	-		-
m	aame	'tortoise'	aami [a:mi] 'army'
n	-		-
n	pani	'dew'	punal [punəl] 'funnel'
ŋ	kaan̩i	'land'	kavun̩ar [g^ʋan̩aɾ] 'governor'
ɲ	-		-
ŋ	-		-
l	puli	'tiger'	kaappuli [ka:p:uli] 'a negro'
ɭ	maɭe	'rain'	vaaɭi [ʋa:ɭi] 'bucket'
ɸ	aram	'file'	cayiran [s^ɟiɸən] 'siren'
ʈ	kaaɭu	'forest'	ooɭar [o:ɾaɸ] 'order'
r	kuRe	'worry'	peekkaRi [be:k:ʌri] 'bakery'

β	-	aapattu [a:βʌt:w]	'danger'	
ð	cita]	'pus'	Roote [ro:ðɛ]	'wheel'
s	pace [pʌsɛ]	'gum'	pucal [pusəl]	'bushel'
ʃ	-	mican [miʃən]	'mission'	
h	-	-		
ɦ	puke [puɦɛ]	'smoke'	cakaayam [sʌɦa:jəm]	'help'
	ciival [si:ʋəl]	'shredded'	kavar [kʌʋər]	'cover'
		arecanut'		
j	kuyil [kujil]	'cuckoo'	Reyin [rejin]	'train'

TABLE 1.7

FINAL				
	Native	Gloss	Marginal	Gloss
p	-		cuviip [suʋi:p]	'sweepstake'
b	-		-	
t	-		-	
d	-		-	
t̪	-		cileer [sileet̪]	'slate'
t̪	-		vaa̯ [ʋa:t̪]	'ward'
d̪	-		-	
k	-		paak [pa:k]	'park'
g	-		-	
tʃ	-		cuvic [suʋitʃ]	'switch'
ɕ	-		-	
m	va]am	'vantage ground'	pam [pʌm]	'pump'

n̄	-	-
n	kaʃan 'debt'	poon [po:n] 'telephone'
ŋ	viŋ 'component of a flying kite'	pavun [pʌvʊn] 'pound - a value in local currency'
ɲ	-	-
ŋ	-	mooccaŋ [mo:tʃəŋ] 'jaws harp'
l	caaval 'cock'	kaanival [ka:ŋiʋəl] 'carnival'
ʌ	tuuʌ 'powder'	keepiʌ [ke:biʌ] 'cable'
ʃ	teer 'chariot'	piyar [bijəʃ] 'beer'
ʀ	-	-
r	-	-
β	-	-
ð	-	-
s	-	Rees [re:s] 'race'
ʃ	-	piRac [brʌʃ] 'brush'
h	-	-
ɦ	-	-
ʊ	-	ceev [ʃe:ʊ] 'shave'
j	may [mʌj] 'ink'	ney [nej] 'ghee'

TABLE 1.8

1.22

CONSONANT CLUSTERS

1.22.1 Having thus discussed the occurrence of single vowels and consonants in different places in structure, namely, initial, medial and final positions, the possibili-

ties of occurrence of two or three consonants in a cluster are now taken up for consideration. Such consonant group articulations have the potentiality of occurring within a word or across word-boundaries in connected speech. In this section, only the consonant sequences within a word are taken into consideration and the term cluster is applied to such consonant groups. The sequences of consonants ending a word and beginning a word will be discussed to some extent in the chapter on Junction Structures.

1.22.2 CLASSIFICATION OF CONSONANT CLUSTERS

The consonant clusters occurring in the nominal forms in Jaffna Tamil can be classified on the basis of the following four considerations:

- (a) Their occurrence in native or marginal or in both these forms.
- (b) Their occurrence in a particular place in the structure.
- (c) The type of articulation involved in the elements constituting the cluster.
- (d) The number of elements constituting the cluster.

According to the first consideration (a), clusters which occur only in native forms and those occurring only in marginal forms are described as Native and Marginal respectively. Those clusters that

occur both in native and marginal forms are styled Common . For example [ɫə] , [sp] and [nd] stand for clusters which are native, marginal and common respectively. Nominal forms to illustrate the occurrence of all such clusters are given separately for both native and marginal classes (See 1.23, -11?26). At this point, it may be recorded that most of the examples cited for the initial and final clusters in marginal forms occur only in the speech of English-educated bilinguals like the present writer. If a primary, secondary and fragmentary system were to be set up on the model suggested by Henderson (1951) for the marginal forms in the language under consideration, then the initial, final and some of the medial clusters in the marginal forms could be classed in the fragmentary system since these contain new patterns that are still felt to be so alien "that they cannot be said as yet to be fully accepted in the language on the same terms as others"(Henderson, 1951, p.132)⁵.

1.22.3 In accordance with the second consideration (b), clusters may be styled Initial or Medial or Final on the strength of their occurrence in word-initial or medial or final position. It may be recorded that

5. See also Fries and Pike (1949), Fairbanks (1957) and Sjoberg (1962).

clusters occur only medially in native forms. In marginal forms, examples could be cited for their occurrence in all the three places defined in the structure. Even there too, clusters occur initially and finally only in a few instances. In a majority of instances, only a stray example could be attested in support of the occurrence of a particular cluster in a particular point of structure. [b_l] , [ks] and [nt] are examples of clusters occurring in initial, medial and final positions respectively, in marginal forms.

On the basis of the third consideration (c), clusters can be classified as Homorganic Clusters and Heterorganic Clusters . The homorganic clusters can be further classified into two sub-types: Identical Element Clusters and Non-Identical Element Clusters .

Homorganic Identical Element Clusters

1.22.4 The long consonants which are represented in the reading transcription by doubling the appropriate symbols can be described as consonant clusters with identical elements. In this type of cluster, the place of articulation is constant throughout and the elements constituting the cluster are wholly voiceless or voiced. There is no release between the elements of the cluster and the duration of the consonant articulation is almost

double the corresponding simple articulation.

1.22.5 Long consonant articulations are essentially medial. Long consonants corresponding to those represented by the symbol [b], [d̥], [d], [g], [g̥], [ŋ], [ŋ̥], [ɾ], [r], [t], [ʈ], [ʈ̥], [s], [ʃ], [h] and [ɦ] do not occur in the language. Of those identical element clusters occurring in the language, those represented by [n:] is marginal and those represented by [p:], [t:], [t̥:], [ʈ:], [k:], [tʃ:], [m:], [n:], [ŋ:], [l:], [ʃ:], [ʋ:] and [j:] occur both in native and marginal forms and therefore they can be labelled as common identical element clusters.⁶

Homorganic Non-Identical Element Clusters

1.22.6 On the basis of the type of articulation involved, the homorganic non-identical element clusters can be divided into two different types. The articulation of these sounds includes a period of voiced nasal articulation followed by a corresponding plosive articulation. One of the important features of this type of cluster is that voicing is always maintained throughout (See kymograms 2 - 14). As with the plosives, there are

-
6. That is to say that consonants which are phonetically long are treated in this analysis as sequences of two identical consonants.

five different points of articulation of these nasals, namely, bilabial, dental, retroflex, palatal and velar.

1.a. Nasal + Plosive [mb] , [nd̪] , [ŋd̪] and [ŋg̪].

1.b. Nasal + Affricate [ndʒ].

These clusters are essentially medial and are common to both native and marginal classes (See 1.23.2, 1.24.2, 1.24.3 and 3.11.15).

Heterorganic Non-Identical Element Clusters - Two Consonants

1.22.7 In this type of consonant cluster, the place of articulation varies during the articulation. In other words, articulations involve different speech organs. There are possibilities of occurrence of two or three consonants in this type of cluster. Heterorganic non-identical element clusters occur only medially in native forms and initially, medially and finally in marginal forms. Taking into account the type of articulation involved, the following types of two consonant heterorganic non-identical element clusters occur in the language (The distinction native / marginal will be made in the list of examples following this classification).

1.a. Plosive + Affricate [tʃ] and [tʃ̪] .

1.b. Plosive + Nasal [tm] , [t̪n] and [kn̪] .

1.c. Plosive + Lateral [p̪] , [b̪] and [k̪] .

1.d. Plosive + Rolled [pr] , [br] , [tr] , [kr] and [gr].

- 1.e. Plosive + Fricative [ps] , [ʈs] and [ks] .
 - 1.f. Plosive + Plosive [tk] , [tp] , [kt] and [kt̚] .
 - 2.a. Nasal + Plosive [nt̚] , [nb] , [ɳb] and [mɖ] .
 - 2.b. Nasal + Lateral [nl] .
 - 2.c. Nasal + Fricative [ms] , [ns] and [ɳs] .
 - 2.d. Nasal + Continuant [nʊ] .
 - 2.e. Nasal + Nasal [nm] and [ɳm] .
 - 3.a. Lateral + Plosive [lp] , [lb] , [lt̚] , [ld̚] and [lk̚] .
 - 3.b. Lateral + Nasal [lm] .
 - 3.c. Lateral + Fricative [lβ] , [lh] and [ʎh] .
 - 3.d. Lateral + Continuant [lʊ] and [ʎʊ] .
 - 4.a. Flapped + Nasal [ɾm] .
 - 4.b. Flapped + Fricative [ɾs] , [ɾβ] and [ɾh] .
 - 4.c. Flapped + Continuant [ɾʊ] .
 - 5.a. Fricative + plosive [sp] , [st̚] , [st̚] and [sk̚] .
 - 5.b. Fricative + Nasal [sm] and [sn] .
 - 5.c. Fricative + Lateral [sl] .
 - 5.d. Fricative + Continuant [sʊ] .
 - 6.a. Continuant + Plosive [jp] .
 - 6.b. Continuant + Nasal [jn] and [jm] .
 - 6.c. Continuant + Lateral [jl] .
 - 6.e. Continuant + Fricative [jɖ̪] and [js] .
 - 6.f. Continuant + Continuant [jʊ] .
- 1.22.8 Of these, [tk] , [t̪t̪ʃ] , [nb] , [ɳb̪] , [lm̪] , [lβ̪] , [ʎʊ] , [ɾβ̪] and [jm̪] are native and [t̪t̪ʃ] , [nm̪] ,

[nm] , [lh] , [ʎh] , [ɾm] , [ɾθ] , [ɾh] , [jð] and [jθ] are common. All the remaining clusters are marginal.

Heterorganic Non-Identical Clusters - Three Consonants

1.2.29 The maximum number of elements recognized as constituents of clusters in the nominal forms of the language in question is three. The following types of classification can be made on the basis of the articulation of the consonants involved in the structure:

- 1.a. Nasal + Plosive + Rolled [mbr] and [nɾr] .
- 1.b. Nasal + Fricative + Plosive [nsp] .
- 2.a. Lateral + Plosive [ʎt:] , [lk:] , [ʎk:] and [ʎp:]⁷.
- 2.b. Lateral + Affricate [ʎtʃ] .
- 3. Flapped + Plosive [ɾp:] , [ɾt:] and [ɾk:] .
- 4. Fricative + Plosive + Rolled [skr] .
- 5.a. Continuant + Plosive [jp:] and [jk:] .
- 5.b. Continuant + Nasal + Plosive [jmb] .

7. It can be observed from the examples given here that most of the heterorganic three-consonant clusters are made up of a lateral, flap or continuant plus a plosive of long duration (e.g. [ʎk:] vaaʎkke 'life'). These are included among the category of clusters made up of three consonants since at the phonological level, the long tense voiceless plosives have been taken as two consonants.

1.22.10 Of these, [ɾp:] and [ɾk:] are common to both native and marginal forms and [ɾt:] , [ɾp:] , [ɾk:] , [ɾt:]] , [jp:] and [jmb] occur only in native forms. All the other clusters occur in marginal forms. [skr] is the only cluster that occurs initially and it is found in a marginal form. All other clusters occur in the medial position.

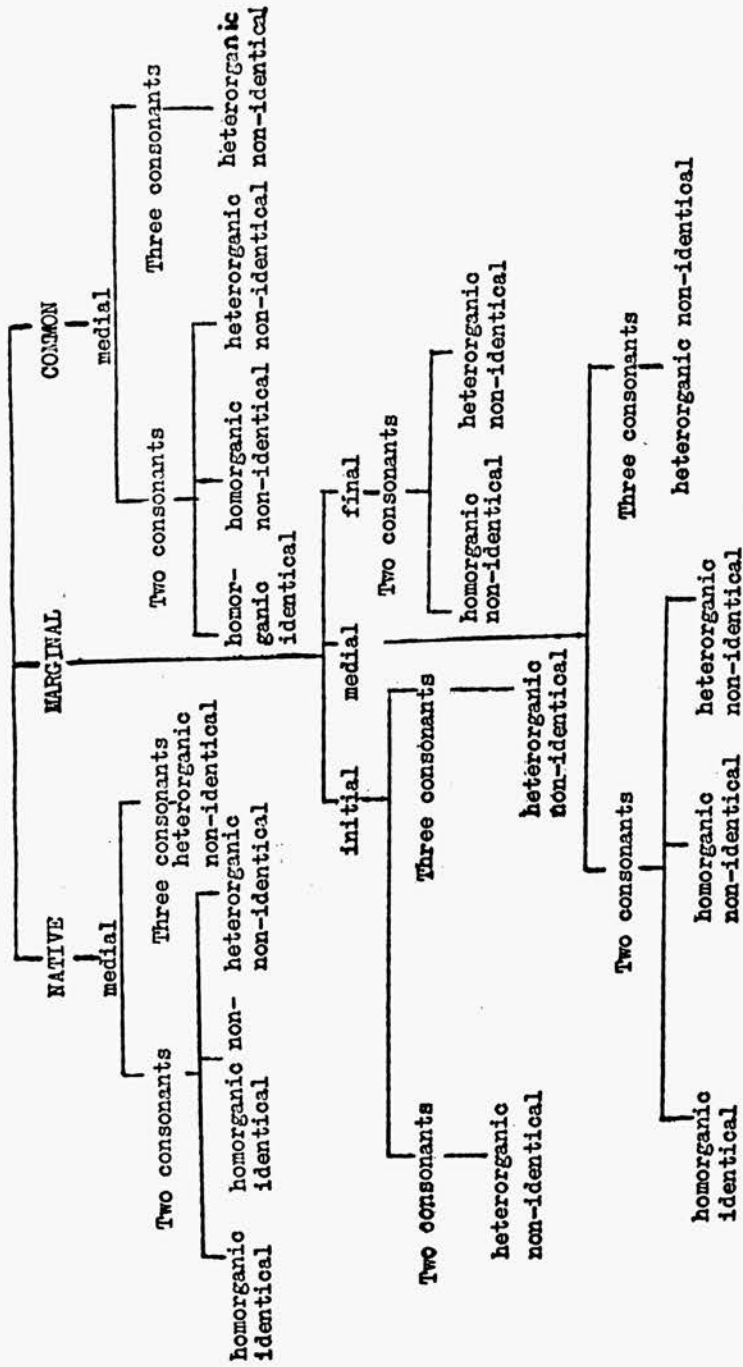
1.23 LIST OF EXAMPLES FOR TABLE 1.10 (p.103).

1.23.1 HOMORGANIC IDENTICAL ELEMENT CLUSTERS (MEDIAL)

NATIVE

- | | | | |
|-----|------|-----------------|--------------------|
| 1. | [p:] | koppu | 'branch of a tree' |
| 2. | [t:] | cottu | 'wealth' |
| 3. | [t:] | kuRRam [kut:əm] | 'guilt' |
| 4. | [t:] | taɾɾi | 'an ola screen' |
| 5. | [k:] | mokku | 'hard wood' |
| 6. | [t:] | pacce [pat:ɛ] | 'green' |
| 7. | [m:] | ammi | 'grinding stone' |
| 8. | [n:] | pinnal | 'braiding' |
| 9. | [ɳ:] | enɳam | 'idea' |
| 10. | [l:] | nelli | 'an edible fruit' |
| 11. | [ɭ:] | veɭɭi | 'silver' |
| 12. | [ʊ:] | cavvu [sʌʊ:ɪ] | 'thin scales' |
| 13. | [j:] | veyyil [ʊej:il] | 'sunshine' |

CLASSIFICATION OF CLUSTERS



Note: Not all the clusters in the medial position are common. The possible exceptions are shown in the list of examples and comments on their restrictions are made elsewhere in this chapter (See 1.22.5, 1.22.6, 1.22.8, 1.22.10 and 1.23.1 - 1.26.2). Although the columns for native and marginal forms in the medial position look identical in classificatory features, they differ in the nature of elements constituting the cluster.

TABLE 1.9

TWO-CONSONANT CLUSTERS OCCURRING MEDIALY IN NATIVE FORMS

	p	b	t	d	t	t	d	k	g	ʔ	d ₃	m	n	n	l	β	ð	h	o	j
p	=																			
t			=																	
t					=			-		-										
t						=														
k								=												
ʔ										=										
m		+										=								
n				+																
n		-										-	=							
n		-					+					-		=						
n											+									
l									+											
l														=		-		-	-	
ɾ												-			=	-		-	-	
ʊ												-							=	
j												-					-		-	=

TABLE 1.10

- = indicates homorganic identical element clusters.
- + indicates homorganic non-identical element clusters.
- indicates heterorganic non-identical element clusters.

TWO-CONSONANT CLUSTERS OCCURRING IN MARGINAL FORMS

	p	b	t	ɖ	ʈ	ʈ	ɖ	k	g	ɟ	ɖ	m	n	ɳ	ɳ	l	ɭ	r	s	ʂ	ʃ	ʋ	j
p	=																1	2	2				
b																	1	1					
t			=								2												
ɖ	2				=													2					
ʈ						=				2			2						3				
k			2		2		=					2				1	1	2,3					
g																	1						
ɟ									=														
m		+					2					=						2					
ɳ				+																			
n					3							2	=			2			2,3			2	
ɳ						+	2,3					2		=									
ɳ										+					=								
ɳ									+										3				
l	3	2			3		2	3								=					2	2,3	
ɭ																	=				2		
r												2							2		2	2	
s	1,2		2		1,2,3		1,2,3					2				2						2	
ʂ																						=	
j	3											2				2			2	2		2	=

TABLE 1.11

= indicates homorganic identical element clusters.

+ indicates homorganic non-identical element clusters.

All others are heterorganic non-identical element clusters. Of these, the clusters in the initial, medial and final positions are marked by 1, 2 and 3 respectively. Thus it could be shown that [st] and [sk] occur in all the three places defined in the structure. [sp] occurs both initially and medially. [ks], [ns], [ɳd] and [ɭv] occur medially and finally. The marking 1, 2 indicates that a particular cluster occurs both initially and medially and 2, 3 indicates that a particular cluster occurs both medially and finally and 1, 2, 3 indicates that a particular cluster occurs in the initial, medial and final positions.

1.23.2

HOMORGANIC NON-IDENTICAL ELEMENT CLUSTERS

1. [mb] karumpu [kʌɪɹumbw] 'sugar cane'
2. [nd] pantu [pʌndw] 'ball'
3. [ŋd] conɽu [sonɽu] 'lip'
4. [ɲɔ] paɲci [pʌɲɔɪ] 'that which is difficult'
5. [ŋg] oɽuŋke [oɽuŋgɛ] 'lane'

1.23.3

HETERORGANIC NON-IDENTICAL ELEMENT CLUSTERS

1. [tʃ] aaɽci [a:ɽtʃi] 'proprietorship'
2. [tk] iyaRke [ijʌtke] 'nature'
3. [nb] anpu [ʌnbw] 'affection'
4. [ŋb] paɲpu [pʌɲbw] 'civility'
5. [nm] tanme [tʌnmɛ] 'politeness'
6. [ŋm] uɲme [uɲmɛ] 'truth'
7. [lɐ] iyalpu [ijʌlɐw] 'means'
8. [ɽm] koɽmati [koɽmʌɔi] 'cost price'
9. [ɽh] koɽke [koɽhɛ] 'principle'
10. [lʊ] kalvi [kʌlʊi] 'education'
11. [ɽʊ] keeɽvi [ke:ɽʊi] 'question'
12. [ɽβ] toɽarpu [toɽʌɽβw] 'connection'
13. [ɽm] neerme [ne:ɽmɛ] 'honesty'
14. [ɽh] peerkaɽ [pe:ɽhʌɽ] 'names'
15. [ɽʊ] koorve [ko:ɽʊɛ] 'bunch'
16. [jm] aymiccam [ʌjmit:ɽəm] 'doubt'
17. [jɔ] ceyti [sejɔi] 'news'

18. [jə] toyvu [tojʊw] 'asthma'
 19. [tʃ] muyaRci [mujaʔtʃi] 'occupation'

1.24

LIST OF EXAMPLES FOR TABLE 1.11HOMORGANIC IDENTICAL ELEMENT CLUSTERS (MEDIAL)MARGINAL

1. [p:] toppi [top:i] 'hat'
 2. [t:] keettil [ke:t:il] 'kettle'
 3. [t:] miiʃar [mi:təʃ] 'meter'
 4. [ʃ:] kaʃar [kaʃ:əʃ] 'cutter(pencil sharpener)'
 5. [k:] caakku [sa:k:w] 'sack'
 6. [t:] laacci [la:t:ʃi] 'drawer'
 7. [m:] cammans [sʌm:ʌns] 'summons'
 8. [n:] kannam [kʌn:əm] 'cheek'
 9. [ɳ:] punɳiyam [puɳ:ijəm] 'merit'
 10. [ɳ:] vinɳaanam [ʋiɳ:a:nəm] 'science'
 11. [l:] villan [ʋil:ən] 'villain'
 12. [ʃ:] paʃi [pʌʃ:i] 'school'
 13. [ʋ:] pavvar [pʌʋ:əʃ] 'bumper bar'
 14. [j:] koyyaa [koj:a:] 'name of a tree'

1.24.2

HOMORGANIC-NON IDENTICAL ELEMENT CLUSTERS

1. [mb] nampar [nʌmbəʃ] 'number'
 2. [nd̪] viRaantu [ʋira:nd̪w] 'warrant'
 3. [nd̪] kalenʃar [kʌlenʃəʃ] 'calendar'
 4. [nd̪ʒ] kaɳcaa [kʌnd̪ʒa:] 'an intoxicating drug'
 5. [ŋg] Raan̪ki [ra:ŋgi] 'arrogance'

1.24.3

FINAL

1. [nɔ̃] sraanɪ [sta:nɔ̃] 'stand'

1.25

HETERORGANIC NON-IDENTICAL ELEMENT CLUSTERS

1.25.1

A. INITIAL

- | | | | | |
|----|------|-----------|------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. | [p] | pi een | [p e:n] | 'aeroplane' |
| 2. | [b] | pi eeɪ | [b e:t] | 'blade' |
| 3. | [br] | piReek | [bre:k] | 'brake' |
| 4. | [k] | ki iinar | [k i:nɔ̃] | 'cleaner' |
| 5. | [kr] | kiRikkeɪ | [krik:et] | 'cricket' |
| 6. | [gr] | kiRiis | [gri:s] | 'grease' |
| 7. | [sp] | spiikkar | [spi:k:ɔ̃] | 'loud speaker' |
| 8. | [st] | s eeean | [ste: ən] | 'station' |
| 9. | [sk] | skooppaan | [sko:p:ən] | 'spade as in game of cards' |

1.25.2

B. MEDIAL

- | | | | | |
|----|------|-------------|---------------|-------------------|
| 1. | [ps] | kapcaa | [kapsa:] | 'lie' |
| 2. | [pr] | cupRiinɪtan | [supri:nɔ̃ən] | 'superintendent' |
| 3. | [tm] | aatmaa | [a:tma:] | 'soul' |
| 4. | [tp] | kaRpane | [k^tp^ne] | 'imagination' |
| 5. | [tr] | paɪtari | [b^tri] | 'battery' |
| 6. | [tʃ] | kaɪci | [k^tʃi] | 'party' |
| 7. | [tɳ] | caɪni | [tʃ^tɳi] | 'a kind of sauce' |
| 8. | [kt] | cakti | [s^kti] | 'energy' |
| 9. | [kt] | konɪakrar | [konɔ̃^ktɔ̃] | '(bus)conductor' |

10.	[kn]	ciknal	[siknəl]	'signal'
11.	[mq]	emʃan	[emqən]	'a fraudulent man'
12.	[ms]	vamcam	[ʋaməəm]	'descent'
13.	[nm]	cenmam	[senməəm]	'birth'
14.	[ŋm]	kavunmeentu	[kavunme:ndu]	'government'
15.	[nl]	ʃanlop	[dʌnlop]	'a brand of rubber goods'
16.	[ns]	kavuncil	[kavunsil]	'council'
17.	[nʋ]	kaanvas	[ka:nʋas]	'canvas'
18.	[ks]	ʃaakci	[ʃa:ksi]	'taxi'
19.	[lb]	alpam	[ʌlbəm]	'album'
20.	[ld]	hoolʃar	[ho:ldʒər]	'holder'
21.	[lh]	kalki	[kʌlhi]	'name of a weekly journal'
22.	[ɫh]	cayikkiɫkaɫ	[sajik:iɫkəɫ]	'bicycles'
23.	[lʋ]	payilvaan	[pajilʋa:n]	'wrestler'
24.	[rm]	marmam	[mʌrməm]	'mystery'
25.	[rh]	rayarkaɫ	[tʌjər həɫ]	'tyres'
26.	[fs]	cipaarcu	[siBa:fsu]	'recommendation'
27.	[rʋ]	puurvam	[pu:rʋəm]	'before'
28.	[sp]	muspaatti	[muspa:t:i]	'fun'
29.	[st]	kusti	[kusti]	'wrestling'
30.	[st]	osrin	[ostin]	'Austin (car)'
31.	[sk]	masket	[masket]	'a sweatmeat'
32.	[sn]	pisnas	[bisnas]	'business'

33. [sl] vaslin [ʋʌslin] 'vaseline'
 34. [sʊ] asvini [ʌsʊini] 'name of a constellation'
 35. [jn] maynaa [mʌjna:] 'a bird'
 36. [jl] paylaa [bʌjla:] 'a kind of dancing and singing'
 37. [jð] maytaanam [mʌjðɑ:nəm] 'esplanade'
 38. [js] laycens] [lʌjsens] 'licence'
 39. [jʊ] Rayvar [rʌjʊər] 'driver'

1.25.3 C. FINAL

1. [ts] paaʈs [pa:ʈs] 'parts'
 2. [ks] hoRuliks [horuliks] 'horlicks'
 3. [nt] paaʈimenR [pa:ʈimənt] 'parliament'
 4. [ns] ʈaans [dʌ:ns] 'dance'
 5. [ŋs] loongs [lo:ŋs] 'pair of trousers'
 6. [lp] palp [pʌlp] 'bulb'
 7. [lk] cilk [silk] 'silk'
 8. [lt] pelR [belt] 'belt'
 9. [lʊ] vaalv [ʋa:lʊ] 'valve'
 10. [st] reesR [te:st] 'taste'
 11. [jp] payp [pʌjp] 'pipe'

1.26 HETERORGANIC NON-IDENTICAL ELEMENT CLUSTERS -
THREE CONSONANTS

MEDIAL

1.26.1

NATIVE

1. [p:] yaaʈppaanam [ja:ʈp:a:nəm] 'Jaffna(p.n.)'

- | | | | | |
|----|-------|---------|-----------|------------|
| 2. | [ʃt:] | vaaʃttu | [ʋa:ʃt:w] | 'blessing' |
| 3. | [ʃk:] | vaaʃkke | [ʋa:ʃkɛ] | 'life' |
| 4. | [ʃt:] | cuuʃcci | [su:ʃt:i] | 'plot' |
| 5. | [ʃp:] | vaarppu | [ʋa:ʃp:w] | 'cast' |
| 6. | [ʃp:] | vayppu | [ʋʌʃp:w] | 'mistress' |
| 7. | [ʃk:] | vaykkal | [ʋʌʃk:əl] | 'straw' |
| 8. | [ʃmb] | paympal | [pʌʃmbəl] | 'company' |

1.26.2

MARGINAL

- | | | | | |
|----|-------|-------------|--------------|-----------------------|
| 1. | [mbr] | caampiRaani | [sa:mbra:ni] | 'frankincence' |
| 2. | [ndr] | loonRi | [lo:ndri] | 'laundry' |
| 3. | [nsp] | inspeRRar | [inspetər] | 'inspector' |
| 4. | [lk:] | ʃelkkoo | [ʃelk:o:] | 'delco' |
| 5. | [ʃp:] | canttarppam | [sʌndʌʃp:əm] | 'opportunity' |
| 6. | [ʃt:] | kiirttanam | [ki:ʃt:ʌnəm] | 'psalm' |
| 7. | [ʃk:] | kutarkkam | [kuðʌʃk:əm] | 'fallacious argument' |
| 8. | [ʃk:] | aykkiam | [ʌʃk:ijəm] | 'intimacy' |

1.26.3

INITIAL

- | | | | | |
|----|-------|------|--------|---------|
| 1. | [skr] | skRu | [skru] | 'screw' |
|----|-------|------|--------|---------|

PART II

2.1 NOMINAL CLASSIFICATION AND CATEGORIES

2.1.1 Prosodic analysis "admits the possibility, and often the desirability of different grammatical elements being subjected to different phonological analyses" (Robins, 1964, p.167). It should be borne in mind that "a phonological statement should be quite explicitly geared to the grammar" and that "phonology should be regarded as a 'bridge' between grammar and phonetics" (Palmer, 1970, p.xv). The grammatical analysis discussed briefly in this chapter is intended to serve as a background for the phonological statements that are made in the following chapters. The grammatical distinctions drawn in this chapter are conducive to the making of economic phonological statements.¹ But it should be stressed here that no detailed grammatical description of the nominal is undertaken here.

2.1.2 Declinable and Indeclinable Words

Tamil words² can be classified into two

-
1. See Palmer (1958, p.240).
 2. By word is meant that "form which tends to be internally stable in terms of the order of the component morphemes" and "positionally mobile so as to permute with other words" - Lyons (1968, p.203).

main divisions.

(1) Declinables.

(2) Indeclinables.

The formal criterion for distinguishing declinables from indeclinables is that declinable words can be set up in paradigms that share the inflectional elements whereas indeclinable words cannot be set up in paradigms sharing inflectional elements. For instance, the words vaatti 'teacher' and ciri 'to laugh' can be set up in paradigms that share inflectional increments.

Paradigm 1

vaatti	'teacher'
vaattimaar	'teachers'
vaattiye	'teacher (acc.)'
vaatimaare	'teachers (acc.)'
vaattiyaale	'teacher (ins.)'
vaattimaaraale	'teachers (ins.)'

etc.

Paradigm 2

ciri	'to laugh'
cirikkiRa	'he is laughing'
ciriccaan	'he laughed'
cirippaan	'he will laugh'
cirikkine	'they are laughing'
ciriccine	'they laughed'

In each of these paradigms, there is a common base or constant element that may be described as a stem and there are certain variable elements which are postposed to the stem and they can be styled as endings.

Thus in paradigm 1, vaatti is a constant element - a stem and -maar , -e , and -aale are variable elements - endings. In paradigm 2, ciri is a constant element and -kkiRaan , -ccaan , -ppaan , -kkine and -ccine are variable elements.

2.1.3 On the other hand, words like uṭane 'immediately' , nalla 'that which is good' and meḷḷa 'slowly' cannot be set up in paradigms that share inflectional features. They belong to the class of indeclinables.

2.1.4 The word classes of nominal and verb can be grouped into the division of declinables. The word classes of adjective, adverb and particle can be grouped into the division of indeclinables.

2.1.5 Since the scope of the present study is confined to the nominals in Jaffna Tamil, only the category labelled nominal will be taken up for detailed description in this work.

2.2 THE WORD CLASS OF NOMINAL

2.2.1 Some of the formal criteria by which the word class of nominal can be distinguished from other word classes are:

- (1) Those words for which the grammatical category of case can be set up may be termed nominals.
- (2) Sets of endings or inflectional elements occur

only within the division of declinables and within this division some sets of endings occurring in nominals are different from those occurring in verbs. For instance, the endings -maar , -e ,etc., shown above (See 2.1.2) occur only in nominals while the endings -kkiRaan , -ccaan ,etc., occur only in verbs.

2.3

TYPES OF NOMINALS

The nominals in Jaffna Tamil may be classified into two main types:

- (1) Personal Nominals.
- (2) ~~Non~~Personal Nominals.

The Personal Nominals can be further classified into three sub-types:

- (a) Kinship Terms.
- (b) Proper Nouns.
- (c) Place Names.

2.3.1 Of these, Kinship Terms and Proper Nouns have the feature (-human) . But Place of Origin Nouns derived from Place Names by adding gender suffixes (e.g. yaa ppaanattaan 'a Jaffna man') can be declined and therefore they may be classed with kinship terms and proper nouns.

2.3.2 The personal nominals, with the exception of the sub-type called Place Names are capable of taking one or

more of the following plural endings: -ave and -maar .
 The non-personal nominals, with the exception of mass nouns (e.g. kaattu 'wind' , arici '(uncooked) rice' , kañci 'rice water' etc.) and certain abstract nouns (e.g. koovam 'anger' , ericcal 'jealousy' , irakkam 'pity' etc.) take the plural ending -ka .

The Non-Personal Nominals can be further classified into two sub-types:

(1) Common Nouns.

(2) Verbal Nouns.

PERSONAL NOMINALS

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
Kinship Term	maamaa 'maternal uncle'	maamaa-ave 'maternal uncle and others'
" "	maccaan 'cousin'	maccaan-maar 'cousins'
Proper Noun	ciñki	ciñki-ave 'Ciñki and others'
Place Name	vaṭṭukkootte	

NON-PERSONAL NOMINALS

Common Noun	puu 'flower'	puu-k-kaḷ 'flowers'
Verbal Noun	vakuppu 'class'	vakuppu-kaḷ 'classes'

2.3.3 The personal nominals, with the exception of the sub-type called Place Name, occur in the vocative. The following table could be set up in relation to the possibility of occurrence of personal nominals in the plural and vocative.

	Plural Ending	Vocative
Kinship Term	✓	✓
Proper Noun	✓	✓
Place Name	X	X

TABLE 2.1

NOMINALS

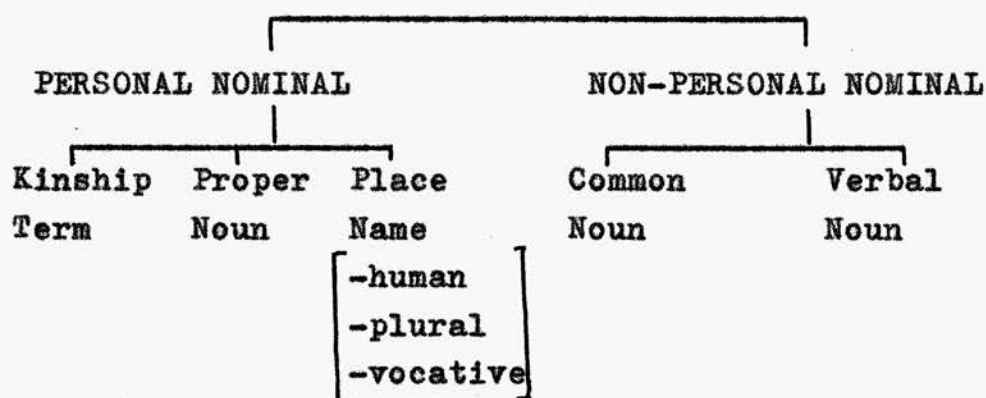


TABLE 2.2

2.3.4 The verbal nouns and common nouns which are the two sub-types of the non-personal nominals, can be distinguished from each other on the following criteria:

- (a) Verbal roots take certain suffixes such as -i , -am , -al , -pu , -vu ,etc., which do not occur in common nouns.
- (b) The stem structures set up for verbal nouns can be related to stem structures set up for verbs as the following table reveals.

Verbs in Fut. Tense	Verbal Noun Suffixes			
	-i	-am	-al	-vu
<u>poRukkum</u>	<u>poRu-t-i</u>			
<u>nii</u> um		<u>nii</u> -am		
<u>kaRukkum</u>			<u>kaRu-v-al</u>	
<u>mu</u> iyum				<u>mu</u> i-vu

TABLE 2.3

2.3.5 Some of the non-personal nominals are capable of taking a prefix which often negates the meaning expressed by the nominal. Such nominals can be appropriately styled Prefixed Nominals. The marginal class abounds in prefixed nominals. In the native class, there is only one type of prefixed nominal and all the nominals of this type take the prefix tiru-. The formal criterion by which these nominals are distinguished as prefixed nominals is the occurrence of a nominal in both prefixed and non-prefixed forms. For example, the occurrence of the form maanam 'honour' and avamaanam 'dishonour' enables one to consider the latter as a prefixed nominal in which the prefix is ava-. The prefixes, with examples both in the native and marginal classes are given below:

NATIVE

<u>PREFIX</u>	<u>NON-PREFIXED NOMINAL</u>	<u>PREFIXED NOMINAL</u>
tiru	vi aa 'festival'	tiruvi aa 'temple festival'

MARGINAL

a	niiti 'justice'	aniiti 'injustice'
an	aacaaram 'proper conduct'	anaacaaram 'improper conduct'
anu	kirakam 'planet'	anukkirakam 'grace'
ava	cakunam 'omen'	avacakunam 'bad omen'
api	maanam 'honour'	apimaanam 'affection'
ku	tarkkam 'argument'	kutarkkam 'fallacious argument'
pari	cuttam 'purity'	paricuttam 'much purity'
vi	naa _i 'pulse'	vinaa _i 'a minute portion of time'

2.3.6 There is one prefix upa- which is non-native and can occur with nominals of both native and marginal classes. But only compound forms could be attested for the marginal class. Thus talevar 'president' when prefixed to the prefix upa- becomes upatalevar 'vice-president'. Compound forms in the marginal class like kaariyatarici 'secretary' occur with the prefix upa- in upakaariyatarici 'assistant secretary'.

2.3.7 Occasionally, a nominal like cumaṅkali 'a woman whose husband is alive' may not occur in a non-prefixed form. This is an instance of a concrete

nominal being derived from the abstract nominal maṅkalam 'auspiciousness' which also occurs in the speech of the present writer. Therefore, the form cumaṅkali could be identified as a prefixed nominal in which the prefix is cu-.

Simple and Compound Nominals

2.3.8 Both personal and non-personal nominals are capable of occurring as simple nominals and compound nominals. The distinction of simple and compound nominals could be made on the basis of the number of stems possessed by a particular nominal. If a nominal has only one stem it is called a Simple Nominal and a nominal that has more than one stem is called a Compound Nominal. The stem of a simple nominal has the potentiality of taking case endings, while in a compound nominal it is only the last stem, in a series of two or more stems, that can take a case ending. Examples

Simple Nominal Stem

aane 'elephant'

kuṭṭi 'young one'

tantam 'tusk'

Form with Case Ending

aaneyaale 'elephant (ins.)'

kuṭṭiyaale 'young one (ins.)'

tantattaale 'tusk (ins.)'

Compound Nominal Stem

aanekkuṭṭi 'elephant calf' aanekkuṭṭiyaale 'elephant calf (ins.)'

aanettantam 'elephant tusk' aanettantattaale 'elephant tusk (ins.)'

2.3.9 Nominal compounds in Jaffna Tamil may be either endocentric or exocentric. An endocentric construction is "one whose distribution is identical with that of one or more of its constituents; any construction which is not endocentric is exocentric" (Lyons, 1968, pp.231-32). For example, aanekkuṭṭi and aanettantam are endocentric compounds. They have the same function or distribution as their head members, kuṭṭi and tantam. Furthermore, the compound forms aanekkuṭṭi and aanettantam can be replaced by their heads, namely, kuṭṭi 'young one' and tantam 'tusk'. In a sentence, instead of the compound forms aanekkuṭṭi 'elephant calf' and aanettantam 'elephant tusk', it is possible to have the phrase aaneyinre kuṭṭi 'calf of the elephant' and aaneyinre tantam 'tusk of the elephant'.

2.3.10 Compounds such as pilleppettu 'confinement', paakkuveṭṭi 'arecanut cutter' and marankotti 'woodpecker' may be described as exocentric compounds. In these, even though the constituents have nominal function, and a nominal as head member, they cannot be replaced by any constituent of the construction. In the compounds, pilleppettu, paakkuveṭṭi and marankotti, the nominals pille, paakku and maram are preheads and the nominals pettu, veṭṭi and kotti are heads. The stem of the form veṭṭi when it functions as the stem of a

simple nominal is veṭṭu. Similarly, the stem of the form kottu when it occurs as the stem of a simple nominal is kottu. Both veṭṭu and kottu do not occur with their respective instrumental and agentive suffix endings -i in simple nominals. On the other hand, the nominal pettu in the compound piḷḷeppettu does not occur at all as a simple stem. Moreover, whereas the prehead stem of an endocentric compound can be inflected and used in a phrase to give the same meaning as when it functions as the prehead in a compound (e.g. aaneyinre kuṭṭi and aaneyinre tantam shown above (See 2.3.9), the prehead stem of an exocentric compound may not be inflected and thus used.

* piḷḷeyinre pettu , * paakkinre veṭṭi

* marattinre kottu

2.3.11 Endocentric nominal phrases may also contain more than one nominal but these can be distinguished from compound nominals since they are constituted

- (a) by a head and one or more prehead nominals containing case endings.
- (b) by a head and one or more prehead stems the order of whose occurrence in a sentence can be changed or interrupted by other words such as numerals and adjectives.

For instance, the nominal phrase aaneyinre (1) kuṭṭi (2), 'calf (2) of the elephant (1)' may be analysed as Head: kuṭṭi, prehead with case endings: aaneyinre. The sequence of the occurrence of the words in the phrase aaneyinre kuṭṭi can be interrupted for instance, as: aaneyinre (1) vaṭivaana (2) kuṭṭi (3) 'the beautiful (2) calf (3) of the elephant (1)'. The order of occurrence of the words in the phrase can be changed: kuṭṭiyaanayinre 'elephant calf (gen.)'. But, on the other hand, in the compound maraṅkottī, the order of occurrence of the head and the prehead can be neither changed (* kottī maram) nor interrupted. Thus, maraṅkottī 'wood-pecker', vaṭivaana maraṅkottī 'a beautiful wood-pecker'. But it is not possible to have * maram vaṭivaana kottī or kottī maram vaṭivaana, etc.

2.4

NOMINAL GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES

2.4.1 The polysystemic approach to language means "that different phonological statements could be made for different grammatical elements" (Palmer, 1970, p.xiii). Grammatical categories will be looked upon as comprising a number of systems. Under these systems, several sub-systems to suit the different levels of phonological analyses of the language in question will be set up for operation. The grammatical categories to be set up for the nominals in Jaffna Tamil can be divided into two main

types: Primary and Secondary.³ A maximum of six primary categories and three secondary categories can be set up so as to comprise the grammatical system operating within the nominals in Jaffna Tamil. The primary categories comprise, Adjective , Verbal Noun , Participial Noun , Numeral , Pronoun and Adverb⁴. The secondary categories comprise, Case , Gender and Number . As mentioned earlier, there will be several sub-systems operating within each of these primary and secondary categories that in toto comprise the grammatical system of the language.

GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES

OF

NOMINALS

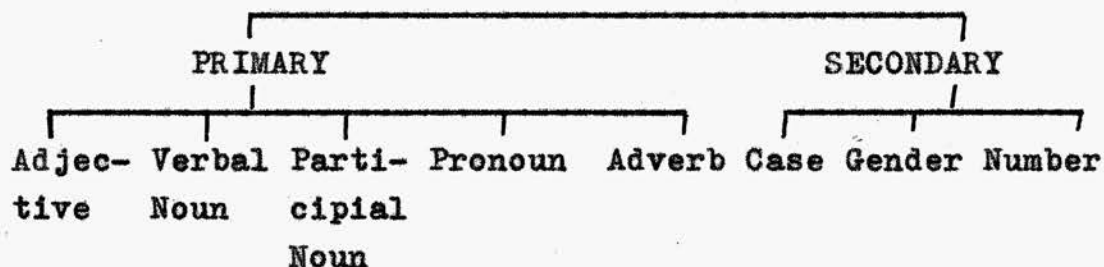


TABLE 2.4

2.5

ADJECTIVES

2.5.1 In Tamil, adjectives are not declined and with the exception of numerals as post nominal modifiers⁵, there is

3. For details of the division of grammatical categories into primary, secondary and functional, see Lyons (1968, p.274).

4. Adverbs are called nominal categories since most adverbs can be described in terms of nominal forms plus an adverbial suffix.

5. This point is discussed in Agesthialingom (1967, p.111).

no concordial relationship between adjectives and the nominals they qualify. In the following examples, the derived nouns of number orutan and oruti function as post nominal modifiers.

piccekkaaran orutan 'he who is a beggar'

piccekkaari oruti 'she who is a beggar'

Recent research⁶ on verbs and adjectives has tempted some linguists like R.A. Jacobs, P.S. Rosenbaum, John Robert Ross, etc., to class these two parts of speech as two sub-categories under a single major lexical category. The fact that, in Tamil, a good many of the verbal participles occur in qualifying positions to nominals and betray resemblance to finite verbal forms (cf. caṭṭe vaṭivaanatu 'the dress is a beautiful one' and vaṭivaana caṭṭe 'beautiful dress') may induce one to share this view. Lyons' view that in English certain adverbs are morphologically and transformationally related to the corresponding adjectives and that not all adjectives occur in adverbial positions⁷ should be considered a matter of general theoretical interest. For this view could as well be extended to Tamil.

6. See Jacob and Rosenbaum (1968, pp. 63-65) and Ross (1969, pp. 326-27).

7. See Lyons (1969, pp. 326-27).

Compare vaṭivaana caṭṭe 'beautiful dress'

with caṭṭe vaṭivaay⁸ irukku 'the dress is beautiful'

2.5.2 With the exception of numerals⁹ and certain nominals denoting professions both of which optionally occur as post nominal modifiers, all other classes of adjectives occur as pre-nominal modifiers.

puttakam reṇṭu 'two books'

kanṭayyaa maasrar 'Kanṭayyaa who is a
master'

2.5.3 More than one adjective could qualify a nominal. Adverbial participles traditionally described as vinaiyeccam do not qualify a nominal. It is only the class of adnominal participles traditionally styled as peyareccam that can qualify a nominal. Thus * vantu kaacu

vanta kaacu 'the money that
came'

2.5.4 The possibilities of constructing a nominal phrase comprising an adjective and a nominal amount to four. The four possibilities are:

8. -ay is an adverbial suffix taken by nominals that occur as adverbs (See 2.10.1).
9. The numeral onṭu^{'one'} occurs only as a post nominal modifier and does not occur in pre-nominal Positions.

- (a) Nominal + Nominal¹⁰ or Derived Nominal.
- (b) Verbal Participle + Nominal or Derived Nominal.
- (c) Verbal Root + Nominal.
- (d) Derived Nominal + Nominal or Derived Nominal.

Examples

- (a) puttakak kaṭe 'bookshop'
- (b) muṭṭepporiyaḷ 'egg fry'
- (b) paṭikkiRa peeppar 'reading newspaper'
- aṭutta paaṭṭu 'next song'
- (c) eeRu kutire 'riding horse'
- (d) naaRaḷ miin 'decomposed fish'
- cuuṭu mitippu 'threshing'

2.5.5 Velupillai (1968, pp.816-17) proposes to exclude participles from the category of adjectives on the ground that they denote time and action. But there are many participles which do not show any tense when preposed to a nominal. Thus, aṭutta viiṭu 'next house', kuṭikkiRa aRe 'bath room', paṭikkiRa meece 'study table', uṭikkiRa caṭṭe 'wearing apparel' etc., do not indicate any tense. This looseness of reference to time by certain particles has already been discussed by Caldwell.¹¹

10. By nominal is meant that form which is not derived from any corresponding verb.

11. See Caldwell (1856, pp. 255-56 and 378).

To summarise, on the basis of the four possibilities of constructing a nominal compound comprising an adjective and a nominal, the adjectives could be first classified into two major groups: Nominal Adjectives and Verbal Adjectives. The nominal adjectives could be further divided into two groups on the basis of their colligational possibilities with different types of nominals. The first group comprises nominal + nominal or derived nominal and the second group comprises derived nominal + derived nominal or nominal. The verbal adjectives too can be divided into two groups on the basis of their colligational possibilities with different types of nominals. The first group comprises verbal participle + nominal or derived nominal and the second group comprises verbal root + nominal.

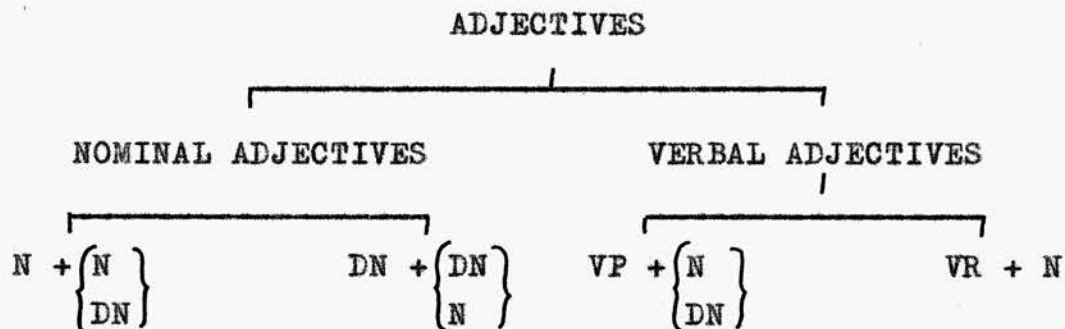


TABLE 2.5

2.6

VERBAL NOUN

2.6.1 With the exception of participial nouns, all the nominals that can be derived from verbal roots fall

under the category of verbal noun. Like other nominal categories, verbal nouns have the potentiality of taking case suffixes and functioning as subject or object or qualifier (adjective) in connected speech. There are several ways in which verbal nouns are derived from corresponding verbs and some of them do not occur with any suffix at all (See 7.4.2). In such instances, the stem is common both as a verbal stem and as a nominal stem (e.g. kattu 'shout', kaṭi 'bite', eṛi 'throw' etc.). A particular verbal stem has the potentiality of occurring or not occurring with more than one suffix and semantically in each such instance, subtle nuances in meaning are conveyed. Thus, the verbal nouns kuuṭu 'nest', kuuṭe 'basket', kuuṭṭu¹² 'mixture of condiments', kuuṭṭal 'adding' and kuuṭṭam 'meeting' are all derived from the verbal root kuuṭu 'to meet'. The verbal nouns in the language signify either (a) an action or (b) agent of an action or (c) instrument of an action or (d) result of an action.

Examples

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (a) kuṭippu 'bathing' | (c) tuṛappu 'key' |
| (b) veruṭi 'a comic person' | (d) vaaṭal 'that which is withered' |

12. kuuṭṭu is not derived from the verbal root kuuṭu by the addition of any suffix. The intervocalic flapped retroflex articulation in kuuṭu [ku:ṭu] is realized as a long tense retroflex plosive articulation in kuuṭṭu [kū:ṭ:u] (See 7.4.48).

2.6.2 A few verbal nouns like cooṭippu 'decoration', yooṇine 'thought', aaloocine 'council', kaṇṭippu 'seriousness', paavippu 'usage', canti 'junction', cikkal 'entangle', ciiviyam 'living', calippu 'grief' and eccarikke 'warning' are derived from marginal stems. But the suffix and junctional elements found in them are truly native. In the marginal class, there may be verbal nouns which have been bodily borrowed from Sanskrit (e.g. vaakanam 'vehicle' from the verbal root vah 'to bear' and tuucaṇam 'obscene' from the verbal root duṣ 'to slander'). But in this work, no attempt is made to discuss the derivational process of such loanwords. In the following table, a few types of verbal nouns are contrasted with their corresponding verbal roots in the past and future tenses so as to bring out their morphological correspondences.

Past	Future	Gloss	Verbal Noun	Gloss
paṭiccatu	paṭikkum	'to study'	paṭippu	'study'
vaḷeccatu	vaḷeyum	'to bend'	vaḷeyal	'bangle'
			vaḷeyam	'ring'
veerttatu	veerkkum	'to sweat'	veerve	'sweat'
poRuttatu	poRukkum	'to bear'	poRume	'patience'
aḷiṇcatu	aḷiyum	'to dispose of'	aḷivu	'destruction'

TABLE 2.6

2.6.3 Verbal roots like ira , epcu , un¹³ , uukku , cuu , paku , kaval , nookku , vaku and vee which occur in verbal nouns, iraval 'borrowing', eccam 'bird droppings', unni 'tick on animals', uukkam 'perseverance', cuucci 'plot', pakuti 'section', kavale 'worry', nookkam 'object', vakuppu 'class' and veevi 'animal sacrifice' do not occur in any of the verbal forms of the language. The verbal noun suffixes -i , -e , -am , -al , -pu and -vi that are found in these nominals occur with other verbal roots that are found in the language. Therefore one could identify ira , epcu , un , etc., as verbal roots despite the fact that they do not occur in the language.

Forms can be attested for the occurrence of the following suffixes in verbal nouns: -i , -e , -am , -al , -pu , -pe , -ttu , -tu , -ti , -ke , -ci , -cu , -me , -mati , -maanam , -ne , -vi , -ve and -vu (See 7.4). Of these -pu and -al are very productive of forms in the language.¹⁴

13. Kanapathi Pillai (1965, p. 251) recognizes un as occurring in Jaffna Tamil (See also Kandiah, 1967, p. 256). But as far as the writer is aware of un does not occur as a verb in Ceylon Tamil (See 0.6.2).

14. For more details on this point, see Thananjaya-rajasingham (1964, pp. 44-55).

2.7

PARTICIPIAL NOUNS

2.7.1 Participial nouns can be derived from adnominal participles which are traditionally called peyareccam. Participial nouns always occur with tense and gender morphemes and in all such instances reveal these two features. Morphologically, participial nouns are more related to adnominal participles than verbal nouns (Compare the verbal noun paṭippu 'study' with the participial noun paṭiccavan 'he who learnt' and the adnominal participle paṭicca 'which was learnt (by someone)'). At times, the tense distinction between present and future as indicated by certain participial nouns is blurred in Jaffna Tamil. Very often the future is also indicated by the present tense form of the participial noun.

Examples

vaaRavan varaṭṭum 'let him who wants to come, come'

pooRavan pookaṭṭum 'let him who wants to go, go'

2.7.2 In these instances, the participial nouns vaaRavan and pooRavan may stand for an action which has yet to be performed by the agent described by the nominal. The present tense forms being used to denote present and future times of action, the proper forms indicating future such as varuvaan and poovaan (which only occur in finite verbal positions and never in subject or object positions) are not used in the language. Participial nouns often denote the agent of an action.

e.g. poḷikiRavan 'he who perforates (a grinding stone)'
 piṭikkiRavan 'he who catches (stray cattle, dogs, etc.)'
 kottuRavan 'he who cuts (firewood)'

2.7.3 Functionally, there is very little difference between verbal nouns and participial nouns. Both categories of noun can occur either as subject or object or in finite verbal position, in a sentence. Thus,

Subject

(ammi) poḷikiRavan pooRaana 'the (grinding stone)
 perforator is going'

Object

(ammi) poḷikiRavanek kaṇṭaniyee 'did you see the
 (grinding stone)perforator?'

Finite Position

avan (ammi) poḷikiRavan 'he is a (grinding stone)perforator'

Subject

kuuṭṭam muṭṭiṇcutu 'the meeting ended'

Object

kuuṭṭattep paar 'look at the meeting'

Finite Position

atu oru periya kuuṭṭam 'it is a big meeting'

2.7.4 The verbal nouns optionally occur with gender suffixes (cf. viṭuppu 'inquisitiveness' and viṭuppukkaari 'an inquisitive woman'). Unlike the verbal nouns, participial nouns are of limited occurrence in the language.

2.8

NUMERALS

2.8.1 The numeral system can be classified as cardinals, ordinals, derived numeratives, enumerative adjectives, distributive plurals and fractions. On the basis of a dichotomy of simple and compound nominals, the cardinals from one to ten and their corresponding derived forms, the ordinal mutal and fractions like are and kaal can be classed as simple nominals. All the rest are compound nominals.

2.8.2 The adjectival and adverbial uses of numerals outweigh other uses. The cardinal numerals are often preposed to certain mass nouns which cannot otherwise be pluralised.

e.g. ren[u rii [tenduti:] 'two teas'

muun[u caRuvattu [mu:nus^ruat:u] 'three sherbets'

2.8.3 As for concord of number, the nominals qualified by numerals are not pluralised in the inanimate category.

e.g. apcu katire 'five chairs'

katire apcu " "

2.8.4 As has already been mentioned (See 2.5.1 and 2.5.2) the cardinal numerals and forms derived from them occur as post nominal modifiers. The cardinal ontu does not occur as a pre-nominal modifier.

2.8.5 When numerals occur as adverbs, they take the suffix -aay.

e.g. muuntaay vettu 'cut (something) into three(parts)'
Morphologically, certain corresponding forms could be identified for the cardinal numerals when they occur as enumerative adjectives in compounds. The cardinal forms and their corresponding adjectival forms are given below.

<u>Cardinal Form</u>	<u>Adjectival Form</u>
<u>on</u> t <u>u</u>	oru ~ oRRe [ot:ε]
<u>ren</u> t <u>u</u>	iru ~ re <u>t</u> te [te <u>t</u> :ε] ~ iran <u>e</u>
<u>muun</u> t <u>u</u>	mu
<u>naalu</u>	naal
<u>an</u> cu	ay [ʌj]
<u>aa</u> Ru	aRu
<u>ee</u> l <u>u</u>	e <u>l</u> u ~ ee <u>l</u>
<u>e</u> t <u>u</u>	en
<u>om</u> patu	to <u>l</u>
<u>pattu</u>	patu

2.8.6 Of these adjectival forms, only oru , oRRe , rette and irane occur as pre-nominal modifiers and the rest are found in compound numerals. With regard to derived numerals, only those derived from the enumerative adjective oru such as orutan 'a certain man' , orutar 'a certain person' and oruti 'a certain woman' occur in the language. Though ontu does not occur as a pre-nominal modifier, a corresponding adjectival form oRRe occurs before nominals.

e.g. orRettirukkal 'a cart driven by a single bull'

2.8.7 The forms rette and irane also qualify nominals along with the form rentu. But there are restrictions regarding the occurrence of orRe, rette and irane. These qualify only certain class of nominals and cannot be substituted for oru or rentu which occur with several types of nominal. The possibilities to qualify nominals by orRe, rette and irane are limited to the following instances:

orRettirukkal 'a cart driven by a single bull'

orReppattu 'that which is folded once'

orReccu|i 'a single crown (in the growth of hair)'

orReppookku 'an uncooperative frame of mind or
behaviour'

retteppattu 'that which is folded twice'

retteppane 'a palmyra palm with a forked trunk'

rette maattu vantil 'a cart driven by two bulls'

retteccu|i 'double crown (in the growth of hair)'

iraneppille 'twin children'

2.8.8 oru tirukkal will mean 'one cart' and not 'a cart driven by a single bull'. rentu pane will mean 'two palmyra palms' and not 'a palmyra palm with a forked trunk'. rentu pille will mean 'two children born at different times' and not 'twin children'. But oru cu|i and rentu cu|i are equally acceptable as orReccu|i and retteccu|i, except for the consideration that the last two are only compounds.

2.9

PRONOUNS

2.9.1 The pronoun system in the language comprises, personal, demonstrative, interrogative, distributive, reflexive pronoun and pronoun of place. The third person and the demonstrative pronouns betray morphological identity.¹⁵ Pronouns can occur as subject or object or in finite position. Syntactically, there are differences between pronouns and nouns. Pronouns cannot be preceded by all types of adjectives.¹⁶

e.g. atu avan taan 'it is he'

* anta avan taan
n

nalla manican 'good man'

* nalla { naan
avan
evan
ivan

oru aa } 'a person'

* oru { avan
ivan
uvan
nii

15. This feature is found in many languages. For details see Lyons (1968, p.279).

16. This point is discussed in Agesthialingom (1967, p.23).

2.9.2 Gender distinctions can only be made in the third person singular. Deitic pronouns which are essentially non-human are sometimes used to refer to human beings and so they have to be recategorized in such instances. Because of this recategorization, gender distinction is optional even in the third person pronouns.

Singular

avan 'he' , ava\ 'she' , atu 'it or he or she'

Plural

avaṅka\ 'they (mas.)' , ava\ave 'they (fem.)'

atuka\ 'those things or persons'

ave " " " "

aveka\ " " " "

2.9.3 There are certain honorific uses of pronouns in terms of the relative status or degree of intimacy of the participants in speech.¹⁷ Such honorific use of pronouns is restricted to the second person (cf. niir , naam¹⁸ and niṅka\ 'you') and third person (cf. avar 'he' , ava [ʌʊa] 'she'). Even in the case of honorific pronouns there is

17. A striking similarity is found between Tamil and other languages as far as the use of honorific pronouns. For details on honorific uses of pronouns in Indo-European languages, see Lyons (1968, p.280) and Brown and Gilman (1968, pp.252-75).

18. The use of the form naam is restricted. The washerman or the woman who sells vegetables may use this form out of politeness to customers.

concord between the pronoun and the verb in gender and number.

e.g. niir vaaRiirroo 'are you coming?'

niinṅkaḷ vaaRiinṅkaḷoo 'are you coming?'

avar vaaRavar 'he comes (habitual)'

ava vaaRava 'she comes (habitual)'

2.9.4 All the pronouns have the potentiality of occurring in adverbial positions and in all such instances they take the adverbial suffix -aay.

e.g. avanaay varuvaanoo 'will he come in person?'

2.9.5 The following types of pronoun are used anaphorically. Pronouns which can be used to replace those pronouns classified as masculine are avan and avar. These two pronouns cannot be used to replace nouns classifiable as feminine or neuter. Pronouns which can be used to replace those nouns classified as feminine are avaḷ and ava. These cannot be used to replace nouns classifiable as masculine or neuter.

2.9.6 In Jaffna Tamil, the personal pronouns bear much morphological correspondence with verbs in the first, second and third persons. But this similarity is found only in verbs denoting the habitual aspect.¹⁹

19. Kanapathi Pillai (1965, p.259) mentions some of these verbal forms but does not discuss the point that pronouns and verbs show morphological similarity only in verbs denoting the habitual aspect.

Compare

naan vaaRa-naan 'I used to come'
naanka[vaaRa-naanka['we used to come'
niir vaaRa-niir 'you used to come'
niinka[vaaRa-niinka['You used to come or
you all used to come'
avan vaaRa-(a)van 'he used to come'
ava[ka[vaaRa-(a)va[ka['they (mas.) used to
come'
ava vaaRa-(a)va 'she used to come'
ava[ave vaaRa-(a)va[ave 'they(fem.) used to
come'
aveka[vaaRa-(a)veka['they used to come'

with

naan vaaRan 'I am coming'
naanka] vaaRam 'we are coming'
niir vaarum 'you come'
niinka] vaarunka] 'you come or you all come'
avan vaaRaan 'he is coming'
ava]ka] vaaRaanka] 'they (mas.) are coming'
ava vaaRaa 'she is coming'
ava]ave vaaRaa]ave 'they (fem.) are coming'
aveka] varukine 'they are coming'

2.10

ADVERBS

2.10.1 With the exception of some verbal nouns derived by the nominalization of verbal roots (e.g. kattu 'shout' , eRi 'throw' etc.) all other nominals are capable of occurring as adverbs and in all such instances, the

in the pre-verbal modifier position. But the following adverbs of manner are capable of occurring optionally as post verbal modifiers²¹ thereby emphasizing the manner in which the action is to be performed. In such instances, the verb is optionally in the imperative.

<u>Pre-verbal</u>	<u>Post verbal</u>	
cuRukkaay vaa	vaa cuRukkaay	'come quickly'
ketiyaay naṭa	naṭa ketiyaay	'walk quickly'
oḷuṅkaay-p-paṭi	paṭi oḷuṅkaay	'study regularly'
kavanamaay naṭa	naṭa kavanamaay	'walk or behave carefully'
cariyaay vay	vay cariyaay	'place properly'
naacamaay-p-poo	poo naacamaay	'be ruined'
mariyaateyaay naṭa	naṭa mariyaateyaay	'behave respectfully'

2.10.4 Compare the above adverbial constructions with the following ones in which the verb is in the indicative and not in the imperative mood.

<u>Pre-verbal</u>	<u>Post verbal</u>	
cuRukkaay vaaRaana	vaaRaana cuRukkaay	'he is coming quickly'
" vantaan	vantaan "	'he came quickly'
" varuvaana	varuvaana "	'he will come quickly'
etc.		

21. Kandiah (1967) has not discussed the aspect of adverbs occurring as post verbal modifiers in Ceylon Tamil.

An adverb can be followed by an adverbial participle.

e.g. kavanamaay-p-paattu vaagku 'choose carefully and buy
the good one'

2.10.5 An adverb could be preceded by another adverb or an adjective or other types of nominal. There is no optimum limit to the number of adjectives and adverbs that can occur before a particular adverb.

e.g. nalla kavanamaay-k-kee] 'listen very carefully'
aakka]ukku oree tolleyaay-p-paaramaay iraate
'do not be troublesome and a burden to people'

2.11

CASE

2.11.1 On syntactic criteria, a six term system comprising nominative , accusative , instrumental , sociative , genitive and locative could be established for the nominals in Jaffna Tamil. Taking ^{morphological and} semantic criteria into consideration, an additional term, namely, ablative , could be enfolded within the case system.

2.11.2 In Tamil, the uninflected form of the nominal functions as the nominative case form.

e.g. Reyil varukutu 'the train is coming'
avan pooRaana 'he is going'

2.11.3 In Jaffna Tamil, a sub-system consisting of two terms, namely, animate (+human) and inanimate (-human) has to be set up for the ablative and locative cases. The distinction between the ablative and locative can only be

made through semantic criteria. The locative animate and inanimate suffixes -itte and -ile occur with the post position -iruntu to express the ablative animate and inanimate forms. The locative animate and inanimate suffixes -itte and -ile are mutually contrastive in function.

e.g.

avan-i tte-y-iruntu 'he (abl.)'
raa-v-ile-y-iruntu 'night (abl.)'

* avan-ile-y-iruntu
raa-v-i tte-y-iruntu
avan-i tte 'he (loc.)'
raa-v-ile 'night (loc.)'

* avan-ile
raa-v-i tte

2.11.4 Sometimes when a person is referred to metaphorically as a dog, etc., the animate (-human) nominal for dog takes the animate (+human) suffix -ittē . In such instances, the nominal for dog has to be recategorized as animate (+human).

e.g. anta naay-itte ontum ille 'that dog (of a person)
has nothing'

2.11.5 The locative animate suffix -itte can occur in some places where -itte-y-iruntu can occur.

e.g. avan-i^{tt}te vaan^{ku} 'buy from him'
 avan-i^{tt}te-y-irun^{tu} vaan^{ku} 'buy from him'
 avan-i^t,^tte iruk^{ku} 'he has'

but not *avan-ittē-y-iruntu irukku

2.11.6 The declensional paradigm for the animate (+human) nominal vittiyaanantan 'proper name (mas.)' and the inanimate nominal maa 'flour' are as follows:

Nominative	vittiyaanantan	'pr.n. (mas.)'
Accusative	vittiyaanantan-e	'pr.n. (mas.acc.)'
Instrumental	vittiyaanantan-aale	'pr.n. (mas.ins.)'
Sociative	vittiyaanantan-ootē	'pr.n. (mas.soc.)'
Dative	vittiyaanantan-ukku	'pr.n. (mas.dat.)'
Ablative	vittiyaanantan-ittēyiruntu	'pr.n. (mas.abl.)'
Genitive	vittiyaanantan-inre	'pr.n. (mas.gen.)'
Locative	vittiyaanantan-ittē	'pr.n. (mas.loc.)'
Nominative	maa	'flour'
Accusative	maa-v-e	'flour (acc.)'
Instrumental	maa-v-aale	'flour (ins.)'
Sociative	maa-v-ootē	'flour (soc.)'
Dative	maa-v-ukku	'flour (dat.)'
Ablative	maa-v-ileyiruntu	'flour (abl.)'
Genitive	maa-v-inre	'flour (gen.)'
Locative	maa-v-ile	'flour (loc.)'

2.11.7 The accusative case suffix is sometimes followed by a post position -paRRi.

e.g. kaṇṭayyan-e-p-paRRi-c-collu 'tell about Kaṇṭayyan'

2.11.8 In two instances, the suffix -atē occurs in place

e.g. umm-a[†]e 'you (hon. gen.)'

namm-a[†]e 'we (gen.)'

2.11.9 Sometimes the adverb of place -meele occurs with both animate and inanimate nominals to express the locative.

e.g. avan-meele kuRRam ille 'there is no guilt in him'

meece-meele irukku '...is on the table'

2.12 GENDER

2.12.1 A three term gender system comprising masculine , feminine and neuter can be set up for the nominals in Jaffna Tamil.

2.12.2 On the basis of concord prevailing between nominal subjects and finite verbs, the terms masculine and feminine correlate with sex distinctions in nominals referring to rational beings. All other nominals are neuter.

2.12.3 Certain endings in nominal forms can be said to indicate masculine or feminine gender (e.g. a-v-an 'he' , a-v-a 'she'). There are however certain nominals including kinship and proper names which cannot be shown to contain any phonological element or sequences of element that indicate gender.

e.g. ammaa 'mother' , ayyaa 'father'

akkaa 'elder sister' , anne 'elder brother'

punitavati 'pr.n. (fem.)' , tanapcayan 'pr.n. (mas.)'

2.12.4 Social stratification demands that certain professions be reserved for either males or females and so the nominals (which are common nouns) denoting them are either classed as masculine or feminine.

e.g. nees 'nurse (fem.)' , oovaciyar 'overseer (mas.)'
picukkaal 'fiscal (mas.)' , epiciniyar 'engineer (mas.)'

Though teaching is a profession common to both sexes, the nominal maasrar 'master' is masculine and the nominal riiccar 'teacher' is feminine in Jaffna Tamil.

2.12.5 A productive way of expressing gender in nominal compounds is by preposing a nominal indicating sex to another nominal which is a generic term (common noun).

e.g. aaṇ 'male' + kuṭṭi 'young of animals' →
aaṇkuṭṭi 'young of animals (male)'
peṇ 'female' + kuṭṭi 'young of animals' →
peṇkuṭṭi 'young of animals (female)'
aaṇ 'male' + piḷḷe 'child' → aampiḷḷe 'male child'
peṇ 'female' + piḷḷe 'child' → pempiḷḷe 'female child'

2.12.6 The masculine gender and number²² suffixes in

22. In singular forms, gender and number are indicated by the same suffix morpheme.

the language are -n , -an and -aan.

e.g. mee-n 'son' , a-v-an 'he' , kare-y-aan 'man of
the fisherman's caste'

The honorific pronominal form avar 'he' is also masculine.

2.12.7 The feminine gender and number suffixes are -l ,
-a , -aa and -i . Of these -i is the most product-
ive of forms.

e.g. mee-l 'daughter' , a-v-a 'she' ,
kare-y-aa 'woman of the fisherman's caste'
tale-v-i 'president (fem.)'

The honorific pronominal form ava [ʌʋə] 'she' is also
feminine.

2.12.8 The neuter gender and number suffix is -tu .
which often occurs with pronominal bases.

e.g. a-tu 'that thing' , i-tu 'this thing'
u-tu 'this or that thing' , e-tu 'which thing?'

2.12.9 The above neuter demonstrative and interr-
ogative pronouns are sometimes used in the writer's
dialect to denote animate (+human) beings. In those
instances they need to be recategorized as animate
(+human). But it may be stated here that the pronominal
forms avan 'that man' , aval 'that woman' , ivan 'this
man' , ival 'this woman' , uvan 'this or that man' and
uval 'this or that woman' are generally preferred to

atu , itu and utu in the use of which the masculine and feminine gender distinctions are blurred.

2.13

NUMBER

2.13.1 Number is "a category of the noun" and "the 'individuation' and enumeration of persons, animals and at least a certain number of perceptually discrete objects is a feature that is found in many languages" (Lyons, 1968, pp.381-83). Two sub-systems can be set up for the category of number in the nominals of Jaffna Tamil.

- (a) sub-system consisting of a two term number system, singular and plural.
- (b) sub-system consisting of a single term number system, singular only.

The distinction of singular and plural in sub-system (a) is based on

- (i) morphologically contrastive forms with a formal scatter which are considered to be differences within the same case, and not between different cases.

and (ii) syntactically, on the use of anaphoric pronouns.

Thus a noun form classified as a singular form can be replaced by a singular form only and one classified as a plural form can be replaced by a plural pronoun only.

if the subject nominal has the feature (-human) and is itself not pluralised.

- e.g. *ren̥tu eli oo̥tutu* 'two rats are running'
 muun̥tu puune can̥te pi̥tikkutu 'three cats are fighting'
 avarit̥te naalu vii̥tu irukku 'he has four houses'

2.13.6 But when the subject nominal has the feature (+human) and is preceded by a nominal expressing plurality, the verb will be pluralised.

- e.g. *naalu peer vant̥ine* 'four persons came'
 ren̥tu aakkḁl pookine 'two persons are going'

2.13.7 Occasionally when a numeral expressing plurality occurs as subject nominal, the verb is not pluralised.

- e.g. *avan̥re makkḁl naalu in̥ce pḁtikkutu*
 'of his children, four are studying here'.

PART III

3.1 PROSODIC AND PHONEMATIC ELEMENTS OF STRUCTURE

3.1.1 In accordance with the customary procedure followed by prosodic phonologists, prosodic elements are first of all taken up for discussion in this chapter and this will be followed by an analysis of phonematic systems.

PROSODIC ELEMENTS: WORD PROSODIES

3.1.2 The prosodic features of the words as a whole unit may be considered in relation to the following three features:

- (i) The number of syllables constituting the word.
- (ii) The closed versus open nature of these syllables.
- (iii) Syllable quantity.

The above mentioned three features shall be taken into consideration one by one.

NUMBER OF SYLLABLES

3.1.3 Native nominal stems comprising nominal roots alone may range from one to four syllables.

- e.g. ii [i:] 'bee'
 umi [umi] 'chaff'
 katavu [kʌðʌvʌ] 'door'
 elumpicce [elʌmbit:fɛ] 'lime tree'

3.1.4 Native stems derivable from non-nominal (verbal)

roots either by suffixation of a nominalizing suffix or without any suffix consist of one to four syllables.

- e.g. noo [no:] 'pain'
 kaaval [ka:ʊəl] 'watch'
 maRati [maɾaɽi] 'forgetfulness'
 vi[utale [ʋituɽale] 'holiday'

3.1.5 In marginal stems, the nominal root may consist of one to five syllables.

- e.g. raa [ta:] 'night'
 Rali [ɾali] 'a brand of bicycle'
 annaaci [ʌn:a:si] 'pine-apple'
 laakkiri [la:k:iɾi] 'sealing wax'
 appootikkari [ʌp:o:ɔik:ʌɾi] 'apothecary'

3.1.6 Some disyllabic and trisyllabic nominal roots, optionally, have either monosyllabic or disyllabic prefixes prefixed to them.

- e.g. a-niiti [ʌni:ɽi] 'injustice'
 ava-cakunam [ʌʋʌsʌhʊnəm] 'bad omen'

3.1.7 The number of syllables constituting a suffix in a nominal form may be either one or two or three.

- e.g. aRutal-i 'a widow'
 tayiriya-caali 'one endowed with courage'
 ee]-aavatu 'seventh'

3.1.8 There is a preponderance of nominal roots with disyllabic and trisyllabic structures both in native and

marginal classes. With regard to quadrisyllabic nominal roots, those of the marginal class outnumber those of the native class. Pentasyllabic nominal roots are found only in a handful of lexical items of the marginal class. Quadrisyllabic nominal roots of the native class are also few in number. Monosyllabic nominal roots of the native class exceed in number those of the marginal class.

3.1.9 The number of syllables constituting a nominal form in the language may range from one to thirteen syllables. A classification of nominal forms purely based on the criterion of number of syllables will be quite unproductive since the same number of phonetic syllables may be shared by words of diverse structural patterns (See table 3.1). As such a classification will not bring to light anything beyond the number of syllables in the phonetic form under consideration, it has not been undertaken in this work.

3.2 TYPES OF SYLLABLE

3.2.1 From what has been discussed in the preceding paragraphs, one could visualize a tacit assumption that the number of phonetic syllables in any utterance would correspond in number with the number of vocalic articulations in it. The veracity of this assumption is to be justified by an analysis of the structure and various types of syllable recognized in the language from a phonetic as well as phonological points of view.

3.2.2 From the phonetic point of view, a syllable in Jaffna Tamil nominals consists of an obligatory nucleus which is a vowel articulation. The nucleus may have a preceding releasing consonant and / or a following arresting consonant.¹ The latter two are optional - i.e., one or both of them may be absent in a syllable.

A. NATIVE

e.g. ii [i:] 'bee'
 puu [pu:] 'flower'
 maan [ma:n] 'deer'
 aa[[a:]] 'person'

3.2.3 In native nominal forms, the arresting consonant articulation, if any, of the utterance final syllable will always be simple and voiced.

e.g. ka[al [kʌtəl] 'sea'
 cita[[siðʌ]] 'pus'
 naar [na:f] 'fibre'
 miin [mi:n] 'fish'
 cinam [sinəm] 'irritation'
 caaŋ [sa:ŋ] 'a measurement'
 poy [poj] 'lie'

3.2.4 The releasing consonant articulation, if any,

-
1. For an elucidation of the terms releasing consonant and arresting consonant, see Abercrombie (1967, pp. 39-40).

(b) Simple and Voiced

paan [pa:n] 'bread'
 pam [pʌm] 'pump'
 pin [pin] 'pin'
 pooʃin [bo:ʃin] 'boarding'
 taar [ta:f] 'tar'
 ʃiikal [di:səl] 'diesel'
 maapiʃ [ma:biʃ] 'marble'
 ceev [ʃe:ʊ] 'shave'
 ney [nej] 'ghee'

(c) Complex with final element voiceless

paaʃs [pa:ʃs] '(spare) parts'
 hoRuliks [horuliks] 'horlicks'
 cilk [silk] 'silk'
 avuns [ʌʊnz] 'ounce'
 Rask [rʌsk] 'rusk'
 loonz [lo:nz] 'pair of trousers'
 palp [bʌlp] 'bulb'
 karenR [kʌfent] 'electric current'

(It will be noted that when the first element of the final consonant cluster is a stop, the whole complex is voiceless, but when the first element is a lateral or nasal, only the final element is voiceless.).

(d) Complex with final element voiced

vaalv [ʊa:lʊ] 'valve'

3.2.6 A comparison of examples cited for native nominal forms with those cited for marginal nominal forms reveals that there are severe restrictions regarding the occurrence of certain arresting consonant articulations in the utterance final syllable in native forms. Only liquid or nasal articulations occur as arresting consonants in the utterance final syllable of native forms. All such arresting consonant articulations are simple and voiced. On the other hand the marginal class abounds in forms that have a voiceless plosive or a fricative or an affricate as the arresting consonant of the utterance final syllable. It should be noted that all the arresting consonant articulations found in the utterance final syllable of native forms are also found in the marginal forms. Other features that distinguish the marginal class from the native class are (a) the occurrence of voiceless plosive articulations as arresting consonants and (b) the occurrence of complex arresting consonants with final elements voiced or voiceless.

3.2.7 The releasing consonant articulation in marginal forms, if any, of the utterance - initial syllable is in most instances simple. In some instances, it is found to be complex.

3.2.8 (a) Simple releasing consonant articulation

e.g. kootu [ko:tu] 'legal court'
 keeR [ge:t] 'gate'

poocci [po:tʃi] 'bottle or pan'
 paŋtʃaa [bʌŋdʒa:] 'proper name in Sinhalese'
 taacchi [ta:tʃi] 'frying pan'
 tʃaakkuttar [dʒa:k:ʊt:ʌf] 'doctor'
 ciitʃ [si:tʃ] 'seat'
 naapakam [na:βʌhəm] 'remembrance'
 yaari [ja:ri] 'equal'
 nampar [nʌmbʌf] 'number'
 laacchi [la:tʃi] 'drawer'
 yoocep [jo:sep] 'proper name (mas.)'
 vaac [ʋa:tʃ] 'wrist watch'
 Rooʃ [ro:tʃ] 'road'
 reyilar [tejilʌf] 'tailor'
 cek [tʃek] 'cheque'

3.2.9

e.g.

(b) Complex releasing consonant articulation

piʃeeʃ [bʃe:tʃ] 'blade'
 piʃaan [pʃa:n] 'plan'
 piReek [bre:k] 'brake'
 kiʃiinar [kʃi:nʌf] 'cleaner'
 kiRiis [kri:s] 'a kind of dagger'
 kiRiis [gri:s] 'grease'
 spiikar [spi:k:ʌf] 'speaker in parliament'
 sʃuʃtiyoo [stʃu:tiʃo:] 'studio'
 skooppaan [sko:p:ʌn] 'spade as in game of cards'

3.2.10 The native class of nominals can be further distinguished from the marginal class of nominals by a comparison of the examples cited for the utterance initial syllable in the native class with those cited for the marginal ones. Such a comparison will reveal that all the releasing consonant articulations found in the native class of nominals are also found in the marginal class of nominals. In addition to the common releasing consonant articulations, the marginal class has (a) voiced plosive, palatal nasal, affricate and palato-alveolar fricative articulations and (b) complex releasing consonant articulations in the utterance initial syllable. It may be of interest to note that the voiced versus voiceless contrast in plosive articulations in the utterance initial position can be illustrated with examples not only for the simple consonant articulations but also for the complex consonant articulations in the marginal class of nominals.

		Num. of Syls.					Examples
in the	in the						
Nom.	Fm.	Pf.	Rt.	N.S.	Or.Ss.		
	1		1			maa	'flour'
	2		2			paci	'hunger'
	2		1	1		muuppu	'seniority in age'
	3		3			kuruvi	'small bird'
	3		2		1	paRecci	'woman of the tom beater's caste'

Num. of Syls. in the Nom.Fm.Pf.Rt.N.S.Or.Ss.				Example
4	4			kurukkutti 'fungus'
4	2	2		tiruniiRu 'holy ash'
5	5			aluminiam 'aluminium'
5	2	1	2	viṭupukkaari 'an inquisitive woman'
6	5		1	appootikkarimaar 'apothecaries'
6	2	1	3	maRiyalkkaarare 'prisoners (acc.)'
7	4		3	appukkaattumaarooṭe 'advocates (soc.)'
7	2		5	veḷḷekkaarikaḷaale 'white women (ins.)'
8	2		6	putticaalittanattaale 'intelligence (ins.)'
8	4		4	anupavacaaliyiṭṭe 'experienced person (loc.)'
9	4		5	payittiyakkaaraṅkaḷooṭe 'mad men (soc.)'
9	2		7	kakkuuskaaraniṭṭeyiruntu 'lavatory scavenger (abl.)'
10	1	3	6	akkiramaṅkaḷileyiruntu 'injustice (abl.)'
10	3		7	paRaṅkiccikaḷiṭṭeyiruntu 'Burghers (fem. abl.)'
11	5		6	appootikkarimaariṭṭeyiruntu 'apothecaries (abl.)'
12	5		7	uvattiravakkaaraniṭṭeyiruntu 'troublesome fellow (abl.)'

Num. of Syls. in the Nom.Fm.Pf.Rt.N.S.Or.Ss.					Example
13	5	8	uvattiravakkaarika <i>i</i> <i>i</i> teyiruntu 'troublesome women (abl.)'		

TABLE 3.1 (See 3.1.9)

3.2.11 The interludes between the nuclei of two consecutive syllables may either consist of a medial simple articulation or complex articulation including consonantal length.

Simple Articulation

e.g. ca*i* 'phlegm'
 teRi 'button'

Complex Articulation

e.g. in*ti* 'Hindi'
 ucci 'summit'

3.2.12 The syllable nucleus represented by the symbol V is set up for a system of vowel units and this type of syllable nucleus is marked phonetically by a wide range of vowel articulations which make way for various types of phonological contrast that could be described in respect to vowel grade, syllable quantity and either frontness or backness or the absence of any of these.

3.2.13 From a polysystemic angle, it would be advantageous to identify various types of syllable depending on

whether the arresting consonant is zero or not and on the place of occurrence of the syllable in the phonological structure. All syllables for which a C-unit is statable as immediately following the V-unit which forms the syllable nucleus are closed syllables. Those syllables for which no C-unit is statable in this way are open syllables.

Closed Syllable

e.g. ku-]am 'pond'
 ci-var 'wall'
 ku-|al 'intestine'

Open Syllable

 pa-]i 'sin'
 mu-le 'breast'
 no-|i 'riddle'

3.2.14 The syllables statable for stem are referred to as stem syllable and those statable for suffix are referred to as suffix syllable. With the exception of tiru- and upa- (See 2.3.5 and 2.3.6) prefix syllables are to be stated only for a few marginal forms. Suffix syllables are common to both native and marginal forms of the language. It should be noted here that stem syllables in the native forms can differ from those in the marginal ones. For instance, there are nominal stems of the marginal class which are either of the CVCVCV̄ structure or CVCV̄CV̄ structure.

e.g. kameRaa 'camera' , cinimaa 'cinema'
 kimoonaa 'kimono' , piyaanoo 'piano'

The above types of syllabic structure are totally absent in nominal stems of native forms.

3.2.15 At this stage, mention must be made of a type of syllable which is altogether different from those that have been hitherto mentioned. This new type of syllable is described as linking syllable on account of its role in internal junctions discussed in the chapter on Junction Structures (See 6.2).

3.3 SYLLABLE DIVISION

3.3.1 The description of the principle of syllable division as presented in the next few paragraphs does not imply a segmental analysis of the phonic data - a procedure adopted in non-prosodic phonological descriptions. This description is undertaken with the sole object of inviting attention, wherever necessary, to particular places in the structure of an utterance under consideration without entering into details of phonetic and phonological features applicable to other places in the structure of the utterance.

- (1) Interludes for which a single C-unit are statable are considered as the onset of the following syllable.

e.g. co-ku-cu 'comfort' , ko- \uparrow u-me 'cruelty'

Simple and Complex Interludes

3.3.2 An interlude for which a single unit can be stated is styled a simple interlude. If the interlude is one for which either identical or non-identical C-units can be stated, then it is styled a complex interlude. The symbol CC represents a complex interlude comprising non-identical C-units. A complex interlude comprising homorganic non-identical consonant clusters like [nd̥], [ŋg], etc., are represented by the symbol CC. The symbol C̄ represents a complex interlude comprising homorganic identical consonant clusters like [p:], [k:], etc.

Simple Interlude

e.g. ci-lu-ve 'crucifix'
pa-ki-[†]i 'joke'

Complex Interlude

e.g. naa-tt-am 'offensive smell'
mi-cc-ar 'mixture - a sweatmeat'

3.3.3 (2) Complex interludes are phonetically considered as the onset of the following syllable subject to the following condition. [p], [t], [t̥], [t̥̥], [k], [m], [ŋ], [ɲ], [ɳ], [ɳ̥], [ɳ̥̥], [ɳ̥̥̥], [ɳ̥̥̥̥], [ɳ̥̥̥̥̥], [ɳ̥̥̥̥̥̥], [ɳ̥̥̥̥̥̥̥], [ɳ̥̥̥̥̥̥̥̥], [ɳ̥̥̥̥̥̥̥̥̥] and [j] at the beginning of such an interlude are considered as the arresting consonant of the preceding syllable.

e.g. ka-ppu 'pillar' , ya-ttu 'vessel'
 pa-RRu 'affection' , ce- $\begin{smallmatrix} t \\ t \end{smallmatrix}$ e 'wing'
 [pʌt:u] pa $\begin{smallmatrix} n \\ n \end{smallmatrix}$ -ti 'row'
 va-kku 'cement tank' , kom-pu 'horn'
 ka-nni 'tender fruit' , pa-n $\begin{smallmatrix} n \\ n \end{smallmatrix}$ e 'farm'
 ka $\begin{smallmatrix} p \\ p \end{smallmatrix}$ -ci 'rice water' , pa $\begin{smallmatrix} n \\ n \end{smallmatrix}$ -ku 'share'
 tiir-ve 'duty' , ve- $\begin{smallmatrix} l \\ l \end{smallmatrix}$ i 'silver'
 le-vve 'a Mohammedan priest'

3.4

SYLLABLE QUANTITY

3.4.1 "A difference of vowel length which makes a difference of syllable structure is called a difference of vowel quantity " (Abercrombie, 1967, p.82). Quantity is a phonological term the use of which is in relation to the whole syllable. The phonetic term duration is duly applied to the physical aspect of the relevant part of the phonic data that can be measured in relation to units of time. In this work, the terms Light and Heavy symbolised as L and H respectively are used at the phonological level of treatment and description of the syllable.² The classification of nominal stem syllables into light and heavy syllables is conducive to making certain noteworthy and economical phonological statements about stem structures of native and marginal forms (For more details on this point see 4.13.1 - 4.13.12).

2. See Allen (1953, pp.85-87) and Jones (1971, pp. 76-78).

HEAVY SYLLABLE

3.4.2 A syllable is considered a heavy syllable if a \bar{V} can be stated for its nucleus.

e.g. \bar{V} ii 'fly'
 $C\bar{V}$ caa [sa:] 'death'
 $C\bar{V}C$ tuun_u 'pillar'

3.4.3 The line over the symbol V denotes that the relevant unit is long. Though long units are marked with a line over the symbols V , the short units will be left unmarked.

3.4.4 Any syllable can be considered heavy on condition that (i) this V is closed by any C statable in absolute final position. The heavy syllables are underlined in the following examples:

CVN ³	va <u>t</u> am	'thick rope'
"	ka <u>t</u> an	'debt'
"	ravun _u	'town'
"	poo <u>t</u> in	'boarding'
CVP	yoo <u>ce</u> p	'proper name (mas.)'
"	layi <u>t</u>	[lʌjɪt] 'light'
"	may <u>i</u> k	'microphone'

3. The final symbols N , P , Q and F represent subsystems ("nasal", "plosive", "affricate" and "fricative") of the C system statable for this place in structure.

CVQ cuvic [suθitʃ] 'switch'

CVF polis 'police'

or (ii) this V is followed by one of the following:

3.4.5 (a) a CC implying any non-identical consonant cluster. Homorganic non-identical consonant clusters are represented by the symbol CC and heterorganic non-identical consonant clusters by CC .

e.g. tan-me 'politeness', kal-vi 'education'
CVC-C CVC-C

ko]-ke	'principle'	as-ti	'cremated ash'
CVC-C		VC-C	

cak-ti	'energy'	kam-pu	'stick'
CVC-C		CVC-C	

vaŋ-tu	'beetle'	paŋ-cu	'cotton'
CVC-C		CVC-C	

paŋ-ku 'share' , an-cu 'five'
CVC-C VC-C

3.4.6 (b) a \bar{C} implying a homorganic identical consonant cluster.

e.g. pa-ru-ppu 'lentil' , ka-[u-ttu 'neck'
 CV-C̄ CV-C̄

ke-Ru-kku 'haughtiness' , mu-RRu [mut̪:u] 'decision'
CV- \bar{C} CV- \bar{C}

ka-tti 'solid' , ko-nne 'stammer'
CV- \bar{C} CV- \bar{C}

pa-n̄ne 'farm' , ko-ll̄i 'fire brand'
 CV- \bar{C} CV- \bar{C}

ma-ll̄i 'coriander'
 CV- \bar{C}

3.4.7 To summarise, heavy syllables may be of the following patterns:

- (a) (C) (C) \bar{V} $\wedge \left(\begin{array}{c} C \\ \underline{CC} \\ CC \\ \bar{C} \end{array} \right)$
- (b) (C) (C) V C ~~///~~
- (c) (C) (C) V $\wedge \left(\begin{array}{c} CC \\ \underline{CC} \\ \bar{C} \end{array} \right)$

3.4.8 In respect to the quantity of a syllable it does not matter whether the complex interlude following its nucleus is stated as its own arresting consonant plus the releasing consonant of the following syllable (as in kun-tu 'door step') or as the releasing consonant of the following syllable (as in ka-tti 'knife'). As the property of the word, syllable quantity is not to be looked for in specific syllables. The determining criterion is often the taking into consideration what follows a given syllable. This factor adds weight to the treatment of syllable quantity as

a word prosody.

LIGHT SYLLABLE

3.4.9 Those syllables which do not conform to the patterns described above for heavy syllables are considered light. Thus the structural pattern for light syllable is (C) (C) (C) V

e.g. skRu [skru] 'screw'

CCCV

e-ru 'cow dung' , i-re 'prey'

V-CV

V-CV

ci-le 'statue' , tu-ḷi 'drop'

CV-CV

CV-CV

ta-vi-ṭu 'bran' , ku-mi-ḷi 'knob'

CV-CV-CV

CV-CV-CV

e-ru-me 'buffalo' a-nu-ma-ti 'permission'

V-CV-CV

V-CV-CV-CV

3.4.10 The principle of syllable division and quantity enunciated in the preceding sections are applied and thereby illustrated in the following Tamil sentence which has the potentiality of occurrence in the language under description. Syllable-division is indicated by the sign - and the heavy syllables are indicated by the superscript H being placed over each of them. The light syllables are left unmarked.

H H H H H
 naan ta-mi-]i-le aa-raa-cci pa-nnu-Ran

'I am conducting research on Tamil'

3.4.11 It may not perhaps be out of place to mention here that traditional grammars on Tamil prosody speak of a somewhat similar type of syllable division and quantitative analysis of syllable applicable to poetical compositions in both the written and spoken languages.

3.5 SYLLABLE PROSODIES

3.5.1 Those aspects of the phonic material that are referable to specific syllables⁴ and not to the word as a whole are treated in terms of systems of syllable prosodies in the ensuing sections. Though junction features abstracted in terms of junctional prosodies are intersyllable prosodies

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4. In a few instances, some aspects of the phonic material bear relevance to the word as a whole and in such available instances word prosodies have been abstracted in the following sections. But in a majority of instances, the aspects of the phonic material discussed in these sections are referable to specific syllables and not to the word as a whole. Therefore they have been dealt with as syllable prosodies.

they are not taken up for discussion here. They are treated separately in Chapter 6. Four systems of syllable prosodies are set up in the following sections. All the four systems are not of equal importance. They may be subdivided into major and minor systems of syllable prosodies.

THE MAJOR SYSTEM OF SYLLABLE PROSODIES

3.5.2 The major system of syllable prosodies comprises three terms. The chief phonetic exponents of the three terms of this system are frontness, backness and the absence of either of these features. As this system is applicable to the maximum number of structural places⁵ in native and marginal forms and to most types of grammatical element such as stem and suffix, it is considered as the major system. It consists of three syllable prosodies expressed in phonological formulae and statements by the superscripts Y, W and O. The main phonetic implications of the three terms are outlined below:

- Y implies frontness of articulation and lip spreading.
- W implies backness of articulation
- O implies non-relevance to Y or W prosodic systems or it may be expressed as absence of either frontness or backness.

3.5.3 In the language under survey, there are a few instances in which Y, W and O prosodies could be abstracted as word prosodies. In such instances, all the

5. The term "place" here is not to be taken to mean a minimal phonological segment.

syllables are either Y or W or O prosodic. A few examples are attested for the abstraction of these three prosodies as word prosodies. The linear extension of the relevant prosody is indicated by a horizontal line drawn after the superscript standing for a particular prosody.

3.5.4 (a) Frontness and lip spreading which are the phonetic exponents of Y prosody are found to characterize all the syllables of the following words. It will be apparent from the statement that this applies to consonants as well as to vowels ,i.e., in tiri 'wick' , there is lip spreading throughout the word beginning with the initial dental consonant. The same is true of the labial consonants in examples pile 'error' and vii^Yi 'a native cigar'.

Prosodic pat. of Syl.	Disyllabic Example	Gloss
^Y CVCV	tiri	'wick'
"	pi ^Y e	'error'
^Y CVCV	vii ^Y i	'a native cigar'

TABLE 3.2

Prosodic pat. of Syl.	Trisyllabic Example	Gloss
Y _____ VCVCV	iippini	'miser'
Y _____ CVCVCV	viciRi	'fan'
Y _____ VNCVCVC	inkilis	'English language'

TABLE 3.3

3.5.5 (b) All the syllables of the following words are characterized by backness and lip-rounding or labiality which are the phonetic exponents of W-prosody. The feature of lip-rounding which is an essential characteristic of W-prosody extends throughout the domain of the prosody, i.e., in the examples which immediately follow it extends throughout the word, over C and V units alike. Thus the initial bilabial consonant of pu 'worm' is articulated with lip rounding in contrast with the initial bilabial plosive in pi 'error' referred to above (See table 3.2). Velar consonants in W-prosodic environment are articulated further back than velar consonants in a Y-prosodic environment.

Prosodic pat. of Syl.	Disyllabic Example	Gloss
W _____ CVCV	pu <u>l</u> u	'worm'
W _____ CVN <u>C</u> V	ku <u>ŋ</u> tu	'ball'
W _____ CVC <u>V</u>	kokkoo	'cocoa'

TABLE 3.4

Prosodic pat. of Syll. ble	Trisyllabic Example	Gloss
W _____ VCVC <u>V</u>	u <u>l</u> ukku	'sprain'
W _____ CVCVC <u>V</u>	kuruttu	'shoot'

TABLE 3.5

Prosodic pat. of Syll. ble	Pentasyllabic Example	Gloss
W _____ CVCVCVCVC <u>V</u>	puRu <u>p</u> uRu <u>p</u> pu	'murmuring'
"	cuRu <u>c</u> uRu <u>p</u> pu	'state of being energetic'

TABLE 3.6

3.5.6 (c) Absence of either frontness or backness as the phonetic exponents of 0- prosody is seen to extend to all the syllables in the following examples.

Prosodic pat. of Syl.	Disyllabic Example	Gloss
0 _____ VCVC	aram	'file'
0 _____ VCVC	aaʈʈam	'game'
0 _____ CVCVC	kannam	'cheek'

TABLE 3.7

Prosodic pat. of Syl.	Trisyllabic Example	Gloss
0 _____ CVCVCVC	kaʈakam	'an ola basket'
0 _____ VNCVCVC	an̄taram	'exigency'
0 _____ CV̄VCVC	cappaRam	'a kind of chariot'

TABLE 3.8

Prosodic pat. of Syl.	Quadrisyllabic Example	Gloss
0 _____ VCVCVCVC	avacaram	'haste'
0 _____ VCVNCVCVC	aaṭamparam	'ostensation'
0 _____ VCVCVC̄VC̄	annavannaa	'an edible fruit'
0 _____ CVCVC̄VCVC	camaataanam	'peace'
0 _____ VCVCVCVC	avataanam	'observation'

TABLE 3.9

Prosodic pat. of Syl.	Pentasyllabic Example	Gloss
0 _____ VCVCVC̄VCVC	avalaccanam	'that which is ugly'

TABLE 3.10

3:5:7 In some quadrisyllabic and pentasyllabic stems, Y or W or O prosody extends to as many as three or four syllables and in such instances only one syllable is of a different prosodic pattern from the rest of the syllables

of the nominal stem.

Prosodic pat. of Syl.	Quadrissyllabic Example	Gloss
Y _____ O CVCVC̄VCVC	kiRittiyam	'thirty-first rites'
W _____ Y CVCVC̄VC̄V	kurukkutti	'fungus'
Y W _____ CVCVC̄VC̄V	vicukkoottu	'biscuit'
Y O _____ CVCVC̄VCVC	piracaaram	'propaganda'
Y O _____ CVCVNCVCVC	vi amparam	'advertisement'

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TABLE 3.11

Prosodic pat. of Syl.	Pentasyllabic Example	Gloss
O _____ W CVCVCVCVC̄V	pa apa appu	'that which is shining'
"	kalakalappu	'jovial mood'

TABLE 3.12

3.5.8 In some other instances in polysyllabic stems, the prosodic patterns of the initial and final syllables are identical and at least one of the medial syllables exhibits a different prosodic pattern from them.

In cases where a prosody extends over the whole of a single syllable but no further, this is symbolised by the appropriate superscript letter before the first phonematic unit of the syllable.

Prosodic pat. of Syl.	Trisyllabic Example	Gloss
^w CV ^y CV ^w CV̄	poo ^l tikkoo	'portico'
^y CV ^w CV ^y CV̄	tirukke	'ray fish'
^o CV ^w CV ^o CV̄	aluval	'business'
^y CV ^o CV ^y CV̄	ki ^l a ^t i	'old woman'
^o CV ^y N ^o CV ^y CV̄	man ^ṁ tiram	'magic'
^o CV ^w CV ^o CV̄	kaRu ^v aa	'cinnamon'

TABLE 3.13

Prosodic pat. of Syl.	Quadrisyllabic Example	Gloss
^y CV ^w CV ^y N ^y CV̄	elumpicce	'lime tree'
^y CV ^y CV ^w CV ^x CV̄	ki ^l inocci	'place name'
^y CV ^y CV ^o CV ^y CV̄	tellippa ^l e	" "
^w CV ^o CV ^y CV ^w CV̄	nottaaricu	'notary'
^o CV ^w CV ^o CV ^o CV̄	varumaanam	'income'

VCVCVCVC	aticayam	'wonder'
TABLE 3.14		
Prosodic pat. of Syl.	Pentasyllabic Example	Gloss
$\begin{smallmatrix} \text{X} & \text{O} & \text{Y} & \text{O} & \text{Y} \\ \text{CVCVCVCVCV} \end{smallmatrix}$	piRakkiRaaci	'proctor'
$\begin{smallmatrix} \text{X} & \text{W} & \text{Y} & \text{W} & \text{Y} \\ \text{CVCVCVCVCV} \end{smallmatrix}$	kilukiluppe	'rattle'
$\begin{smallmatrix} \text{O} & \text{W} & \text{Y} & \text{Y} & \text{O} \\ \text{VCVCVCVCVC} \end{smallmatrix}$	aluminium	'aluminium'
$\begin{smallmatrix} \text{O} & \text{W} & \text{Y} & \text{O} & \text{O} \\ \text{VCVCVCVCVC} \end{smallmatrix}$	anukkirakam	'grace'

TABLE 3.15

3.5.9 Apart from the prosodic patterns discussed above, there are several other prosodic patterns of syllable within the major system. The operation of the major system within different types of stem, the choice of prosodies available for syllables in different structural places and the restrictions are illustrated with examples drawn from monosyllabic and polysyllabic stems in the following tables. For the sake of presenting an overall picture of the major system, the previously discussed patterns are also reshowed in the tables.

3.5.10 In these examples, the prosodic marker is indicated at the beginning of each syllable whether the preceding syllable is characterized by the same prosody or not.

Prosodic pat. of Syl.	Monosyllabic Example	Gloss
$\gamma \bar{V}$	ii	'bee'
$\gamma \bar{V}C$	iir	'egg of louse'
$^w \bar{V}C$	uur	'village'
$^O \bar{V}C$	aa]	'person'
$\gamma C\bar{V}$	pil	'faeces'
"	pee	'devil'
$^w CCCV$	skRu	'screw'
$^w C\bar{V}$	puu	'flower'
"	noo	'pain'
$^O C\bar{V}$	maa	'flour'
"	caa	'death'
γCVC	mil	'mill'
"	pel [bel]	'bell'
$^w CVC$	puŋ	'wound'
"	ron [t _u n]	'ton'
$^O CVC$	tam	'holding of breath'
$\gamma CC\bar{V}C$	kiRiis [gri:s]	'grease'
"	pi]een [p]e:n]	'aeroplane'

^w CCVC	sroov [st _o :ʊ]	'stove'
^Y CVCC	cilk	'silk'
"	pelR [bel _t]	'belt'
^w CVC	loons	'pair of trousers'
^O CVCC	Rask	'rusk'
^O CVC	vaalv	'valve'

TABLE 3.16

Prosodic pat. of Syl.	Disyllabic Example	Gloss
^Y _{VCV}	iṭi	'thunder'
"	ile	'leaf'
"	eli	'rat'
^Y _{VCV}	itu	'this thing'
"	etu	'which thing'
^Y _{VCV}	iiṭu	'mortgage'
^Y _{VCV}	eenṭi	'ladder'
^X _{VCV}	iinaa	'the letter ii in Tamil'
^Y _{VCV}	ettu	'kick'
^Y _{VNCV}	inci	'ginger'
^Y _{VNCV}	in _{cu}	'inch'

$\gamma \frac{O}{VCVC}$	eenam	'a vessel'
$\gamma \frac{O}{VCVC}$	i \uparrow am	'place'
$\gamma \frac{w}{VCV}$	eeccu-	'scolding'
$\gamma \frac{O}{VCVC}$	ennam	'idea'
$\gamma \frac{Y}{VNCVC}$	epcin	'engine'
$\gamma \frac{Y}{VCVC}$	eccil	'saliva'
$\gamma \frac{O}{VCCVC}$	em \uparrow an	'a fraudulent man'
$\gamma \frac{O}{VCVC}$	eekkar	'acre'
$w \frac{Y}{VCV}$	uRi	'a hanger made of coir'
"	uRe	'cover'
"	o \downarrow i	'brightness'
$w \frac{w}{VCV}$	utu	'that or this thing'
$w \frac{w}{VCV}$	oo \uparrow u	'tile'
$w \frac{Y}{VCV}$	uuci	'needle'
"	oole	'leaf'
"	uume	'dumpness'
$w \frac{O}{VCV}$	uunaa	'the letter uu in Tamil'
$w \frac{Y}{VCV}$	un \uparrow i	'tick on animals'
$w \frac{w}{VCV}$	uppu	'salt'
$w \frac{Y}{VCV}$	utte	'that which is dirty'

$\overline{w} \overline{y} \overline{VCV}$	ootte	'hole'
$\overline{w} \overline{w} \overline{VCV}$	oottu	'to drive in'
"	uuttu	'to feed'
$\overline{w} \overline{o} \overline{VCVC}$	ural	'pestle'
$\overline{w} \overline{o} \overline{VCVC}$	uumal	'dried palmyra seed'
$\overline{w} \overline{o} \overline{VCVC}$	ukkal	'that which is of low quality'
$\overline{w} \overline{o} \overline{VCVC}$	uukkam	'perseverence'
"	oottam	'running'
$\overline{w} \overline{o} \overline{VNCVC}$	uupcal	'swing'
$\overline{o} \overline{y} \overline{VCV}$	ati	'beating'
"	are	'waist'
$\overline{o} \overline{w} \overline{VCV}$	atu	'that thing'
$\overline{o} \overline{y} \overline{VCV}$	aavi	'steam'
"	aace	'desire'
$\overline{o} \overline{y} \overline{VCV}$	atte	'leech'
"	ammi	'grinding stone'
$\overline{o} \overline{y} \overline{VCCV}$	asti	'cremated ash'
$\overline{o} \overline{w} \overline{VNCV}$	ancu	'five'
$\overline{o} \overline{o} \overline{VCV}$	appaa	'father'
$\overline{o} \overline{o} \overline{VNCV}$	antaa	'cauldron'

$\circ \overline{y} \overline{VCV}$	aacci	'grandmother'
$\circ \overline{y} \overline{VCCV}$	aa \dagger ci	'rule'
$\circ \overline{y} \overline{VNCV}$	aan \dagger i	'a mendicant'
$\circ \overline{w} \overline{VCV}$	aappu	'wedge'
$\circ \overline{w} \overline{VNCV}$	aan \dagger u	'year'
$\circ \overline{o} \overline{VCV}$	aanaa	'the letter aa in Tamil'
$\circ \overline{y} \overline{VCVC}$	a \dagger il	'squirrel'
$\circ \overline{o} \overline{VCVC}$	aa \dagger am	'depth'
$\circ \overline{o} \overline{VCVC}$	attar	'scent'
$\circ \overline{o} \overline{VNCVC}$	a \dagger al	'instigation'
$\circ \overline{o} \overline{VCCVC}$	aRpan	'a mean person'
$\circ \overline{o} \overline{VCVC}$	aa \dagger tam	'game'
$\gamma \overline{y} \overline{CVCV}$	pi \dagger i	'handle'
"	piRe	'a phase of the moon'
"	vine	'fate'
"	ve \dagger i	'explosion'
$\gamma \overline{y} \overline{CVCV}$	ciini	'sugar'
"	peen \dagger i	'drinking glass'
"	kiire	'green leaves'
$\gamma \overline{w} \overline{CVCV}$	kiyuu	'queue'

$\gamma \text{C}\bar{\text{V}}\text{CV}$	kiiRu	'scatch'
$\gamma \text{C}\bar{\text{V}}\text{CV}$	vitte	'craft'
"	venne	'butter'
"	kitti	'a native game'
"	petti	'box'
$\gamma \text{CVN}\text{CV}$	venti	'a vegetable'
$\gamma \text{CVN}\text{CV}$	pincu	'tender fruit'
$\gamma \text{CVCC}\text{V}$	teRku	'south'
$\gamma \text{C}\bar{\text{V}}\text{CV}$	tippoo	'depot'
$\gamma \text{CVCC}\bar{\text{V}}$	telkkoo	'delco'
$\gamma \text{C}\bar{\text{V}}\text{CV}$	ciitte	'a kind of textile'
"	veetti	'an item of male's dress'
"	veette	'hunting'
$\gamma \text{C}\bar{\text{V}}\text{CV}$	ciippu	'comb'
"	teekku	'teak'
$\gamma \text{C}\bar{\text{V}}\text{CC}\text{V}$	meerku	'west'
$\gamma \text{C}\bar{\text{V}}\text{CC}\text{V}$	tiirppu	'decision'
"	ceerppu	'taking into account'
$\gamma \text{C}\bar{\text{V}}\text{N}\text{CV}$	leenci	'handkerchief'
$\gamma \text{C}\bar{\text{V}}\text{CC}\text{V}$	mii $\dot{\text{t}}$ ci	'release'
$\gamma \text{CV}\text{CVC}$	vitam	'manner'

$\gamma \bar{C} \bar{V} CVC$	nii _l am	'length'
$\gamma CVN \gamma CVC$	pencil	'pencil'
$\gamma CVN \bar{C} CVC$	pepcan	'pension'
$\gamma CCV \gamma CVC$	kiRikke _t [krik:et]	'cricket'
$\gamma CV \bar{C} CVC$	pisran	'piston'
$\gamma C \bar{V} CVC$	pittam	'bile'
$\gamma C \bar{V} CVC$	piittal	'that which is torn'
$\omega CV \bar{C} V$	kucu	'fart'
"	kocu	'mosquito'
$\omega CV \gamma V$	kole	'murder'
"	kuti	'heel'
"	ko _t i	'flag'
$\omega C \bar{V} C \bar{V}$	tulaa	'well sweep beam'
$\omega C \bar{V} C V$	kootu	'peel of fruit'
"	kuu _t u	'cage'
$\omega C \bar{V} C V$	kuuli	'wage'
"	kuu _t e	'basket'
$\omega CVN \gamma V$	ku _n _t i	'buttocks'
"	ko _n _t e	'way of knotting (female's) hair'
"	no _n _t i	'a lame person'
$\omega CV \bar{C} C V$	kusti	'wrestling'

$\overset{w}{C}\overset{y}{V}\bar{C}\bar{V}$	kutti	'log'
"	cotti	'that which is not straight'
"	tokke	'that which is fat'
$\overset{w}{C}\overset{w}{V}\bar{C}\bar{V}$	kottu	'a measure (quart)'
"	kuttu	'punch'
$\overset{w}{C}\overset{w}{V}\bar{N}\bar{C}\bar{V}$	kupcu	'young of birds'
"	con <u>t</u> u	'lip'
$\overset{w}{C}\overset{w}{V}\bar{C}\bar{V}$	kokkoo	'cocoa'
$\overset{w}{C}\overset{w}{V}\bar{C}\bar{V}$	puu <u>t</u> u	'lock'
$\overset{w}{C}\bar{V}\bar{N}\bar{C}\bar{V}$	puun <u>t</u> u	'shrub'
$\overset{w}{C}\overset{y}{V}\bar{C}\bar{V}$	poo <u>t</u> i	'competition'
"	kooppe	'plate'
$\overset{w}{C}\bar{V}\bar{N}\bar{C}\bar{V}$	poonci	'a kind of bean'
"	koompe	'empty coconut'
$\overset{w}{C}\overset{o}{V}\bar{C}\bar{V}$	loo <u>t</u> aa	'a metal jug'
$\overset{w}{C}\bar{V}\bar{N}\bar{C}\bar{V}$	poon <u>t</u> aa	'an eatable'
$\overset{w}{C}\bar{V}\bar{N}\bar{C}\bar{C}\bar{V}$	loon <u>R</u> i [lo: <u>n</u> dri]	'laundry'
$\overset{w}{C}\overset{y}{V}\bar{C}\bar{V}\bar{C}$	polis	'police'
$\overset{w}{C}\overset{o}{V}\bar{C}\bar{V}\bar{C}$	ku <u>l</u> al	'pipe'
$\overset{w}{C}\overset{o}{V}\bar{C}\bar{V}\bar{C}$	kuutal	'shivering'
"	koovam	'anger'

$\overset{w}{C}\bar{V}CVC$	poo ^t i _n	'boarding'
$\overset{w}{C}\bar{V}\bar{C}VC$	mottam	'total'
"	muttam	'open space'
$\overset{w}{C}\bar{V}NCVC$	kontal	'that which is defiled'
"	cun ^t al	'a curry'
$\overset{w}{C}\bar{V}\bar{C}VC$	kuu ^t al	'addition'
"	too ^t tam	'garden'
$\overset{w}{C}\bar{V}NCVC$	kuun ^t al	'female's hair'
"	coompal	'laziness'
$\overset{w}{C}\bar{V}NCVC$	tuun ^t il	'fishing hook'
$\overset{o}{C}\bar{V}CVC$	paru	'pimple'
$\overset{o}{C}\bar{V}CVC$	vale	'net'
"	pa ^t i	'step'
$\overset{o}{C}\bar{V}\bar{C}VC$	kanaa	'dream'
$\overset{o}{C}\bar{V}\bar{C}VC$	katte	'bundle'
"	katti	'knife'
$\overset{o}{C}\bar{V}NCVC$	kan ^t i	'place name'
"	man ^t e	'head'
$\overset{o}{C}\bar{V}CVC$	ka ^t ci	'party'
$\overset{o}{C}\bar{V}CVC$	ka ^t tu	'wound'
$\overset{o}{C}\bar{V}NCVC$	van ^t u	'beetle'
$\overset{o}{C}\bar{V}\bar{C}VC$	pa ^t taa	'witness allowance'

$\overset{\circ}{\text{CVN}}\overset{\circ}{\text{C}}\bar{\text{V}}$	paṇṭaa	'proper name in Sinhalese'
$\overset{\circ}{\text{CV}}\overset{\circ}{\text{C}}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{V}}$	paylaa	'a kind of dancing and singing'
$\overset{\circ}{\text{C}}\bar{\text{V}}\overset{\text{w}}{\text{C}}\bar{\text{V}}$	kaacu	'money'
$\overset{\circ}{\text{C}}\bar{\text{V}}\overset{\text{y}}{\text{C}}\bar{\text{V}}$	taaci	'prostitute'
$\overset{\circ}{\text{C}}\bar{\text{V}}\overset{\text{y}}{\text{C}}\bar{\text{V}}$	paate	'ferry'
$\overset{\circ}{\text{C}}\bar{\text{V}}\overset{\circ}{\text{C}}\bar{\text{V}}$	maamaa	'maternal uncle'
$\overset{\circ}{\text{C}}\bar{\text{V}}\overset{\text{w}}{\text{C}}\bar{\text{V}}$	kaattu	'wind'
$\overset{\circ}{\text{C}}\bar{\text{V}}\overset{\text{w}}{\text{N}}\text{C}\bar{\text{V}}$	caantu	'paste'
$\overset{\circ}{\text{C}}\bar{\text{V}}\overset{\text{y}}{\text{C}}\bar{\text{V}}$	paatti	'flower bed'
$\overset{\circ}{\text{C}}\bar{\text{V}}\overset{\text{y}}{\text{N}}\text{C}\bar{\text{V}}$	vaanti	'vomit'
$\overset{\circ}{\text{C}}\bar{\text{V}}\overset{\text{w}}{\text{N}}\text{C}\bar{\text{V}}$	caanṭoo	'man of physical strength'
$\overset{\circ}{\text{C}}\bar{\text{V}}\overset{\circ}{\text{C}}\text{VC}$	paṭam	'picture'
$\overset{\circ}{\text{C}}\bar{\text{V}}\overset{\circ}{\text{C}}\text{VC}$	paaṭam	'lesson'
$\overset{\circ}{\text{C}}\bar{\text{V}}\overset{\circ}{\text{C}}\bar{\text{V}}\text{C}$	paṭaan	'that which is of a very low quality'
$\overset{\circ}{\text{C}}\bar{\text{V}}\overset{\circ}{\text{C}}\text{VC}$	naṭṭam	'loss'
$\overset{\circ}{\text{C}}\bar{\text{V}}\overset{\circ}{\text{N}}\text{C}\text{VC}$	kaṇṭam	'calamity'
$\overset{\circ}{\text{C}}\bar{\text{V}}\overset{\circ}{\text{C}}\text{C}\text{VC}$	kaṣṭam	'difficulty'
$\overset{\circ}{\text{C}}\bar{\text{V}}\overset{\circ}{\text{C}}\bar{\text{V}}\text{C}$	naattam	'offensive smell'
$\overset{\circ}{\text{C}}\bar{\text{V}}\overset{\circ}{\text{N}}\text{C}\text{VC}$	kaanṭam	'a chapter'

$\overset{O}{\underset{Y}{CVCVCV}}$

kakkuus

'lavatory'

TABLE 3.17

Prosodic pat. of Syl.	Trisyllabic Example	Gloss
$\overset{Y}{CVCVCV}$	viciRi	'fan'
$\overset{Y}{VCVCV}$	iippini	'miser'
$\overset{Y}{CVCVCV}$	tippili	'a medicinal drug'
$\overset{Y}{CVCVCV}$	cevi <u>t</u> u	'deafness'
$\overset{Y}{CVCVCV}$	kiRuti	'fit'
"	keru <u>t</u> i	'trickery'
"	ciluve	'crucifix'
CVCVCV	ki <u>t</u> uku	'braided coconut leaf'
$\overset{Y}{CVCVCV}$	ceruppu	'slippers'
$\overset{Y}{CVCVCV}$	ki <u>l</u> a <u>t</u> i	'old woman'
"	ki <u>l</u> ame	'week'
$\overset{Y}{CVCVCV}$	ki <u>t</u> a <u>ŋ</u> ku	'pit'
$\overset{Y}{CVCVCV}$	viRaku	'firewood'
$\overset{Y}{CVCVCVC}$	nimicam	'minute'
$\overset{Y}{CVCVCVC}$	nirupam	'fate'
$\overset{Y}{CVCVCVC}$	vilaacam	'address'

^y v ^y n ^y c ^y v ^y c ^y v ^y c	in ^y kilis	'English language'
^w v ^w c ^w v ^w c ^w v	u ^y l ^y ukku	'sprain'
^w c ^w v ^y c ^y v ^y c ^y v	kuru ^y t ^y i	'blind woman'
"	po ^y Rume	'patience'
^w v ^y c ^y v ^y c ^y v	urime	'right'
^w c ^y v ^y c ^w v ^w c ^w v	tun ^y i ^y vu	'boldness'
^w c ^w v ^o c ^o v ^o c ^o v ^o c	pu ^y l ^y ukam	'happiness'
^w v ^o c ^y v ^y c ^y v	utavi	'help'
^w v ^o c ^w v ^w c ^w v	u ^y Ravu	'friendship'
^w c ^o v ^o c ^o v ^o c ^o v ^o c	tuvacam	'death anniversary'
^w c ^y v ^o c ^o v ^o c ^o v ^o c	turitam	'haste'
^w c ^y v ^y c ^w v ^w c ^w v	poo ^y t ^y t ^y ikkoo	'portico'
^w cc ^y v ^y c ^w v ^w c ^w v	st ^y uu ^y t ^y iyoo	'studio'
^o c ^o v ^o c ^o v ^o c ^o v ^o c	narakam	'hell'
^o c ^o v ^w c ^w v ^w c ^w v	kava ^y t ^y u	'step'
^o c ^o v ^y c ^y v ^y c ^y v	palake	'plank'
^o c ^o v ^y c ^y v ^y c ^y v	katali	'a kind of banana'
^o c ^y v ^w c ^w v ^w c ^w v	tavi ^y t ^y u	'bran'
^o c ^y v ^y c ^y v ^y c ^y v	paki ^y t ^y i	'joke'
^o c ^w v ^y c ^y v ^y c ^y v	takuti	'qualification'

$\overset{O}{V}\overset{W}{C}\overset{W}{V}\overset{O}{C}\overset{O}{V}$	a \uparrow uppu	'fire hearth'
$\overset{O}{C}\overset{Y}{V}\overset{O}{C}\overset{Y}{V}\overset{O}{C}\overset{O}{V}$	ta \uparrow imal	'cold'
"	va \uparrow eyam	'ring'
$\overset{O}{C}\overset{W}{V}\overset{O}{C}\overset{O}{V}\overset{O}{C}\overset{O}{V}$	ka \uparrow uvan	'male of animals'

TABLE 3.18

Prosodic pat. of Syl.	Quadrisyllabic Example	Gloss
$\overset{Y}{V}\overset{O}{C}\overset{O}{V}\overset{O}{C}\overset{O}{V}\overset{O}{C}$	ilavacam	'that which is free'
$\overset{Y}{V}\overset{W}{C}\overset{Y}{V}\overset{Y}{C}\overset{Y}{V}\overset{Y}{C}$	elumpicce	'lime tree'
$\overset{Y}{C}\overset{Y}{V}\overset{W}{C}\overset{Y}{V}\overset{Y}{C}\overset{Y}{V}\overset{Y}{C}$	miricuvil	'place name'
$\overset{Y}{C}\overset{Y}{V}\overset{O}{C}\overset{Y}{V}\overset{O}{C}\overset{Y}{V}\overset{Y}{C}$	tellippa \uparrow e	" "
$\overset{Y}{C}\overset{Y}{V}\overset{O}{C}\overset{O}{V}\overset{O}{C}\overset{O}{V}\overset{O}{C}$	vittiyaacam	'difference'
$\overset{Y}{C}\overset{W}{V}\overset{O}{C}\overset{Y}{V}\overset{O}{C}\overset{Y}{V}\overset{Y}{C}$	vi \uparrow utale	'holiday'
$\overset{Y}{C}\overset{W}{V}\overset{W}{C}\overset{W}{V}\overset{W}{C}\overset{W}{V}\overset{W}{C}$	vicukkoottu	'biscuit'
$\overset{Y}{C}\overset{W}{V}\overset{O}{C}\overset{O}{V}\overset{O}{C}\overset{O}{V}\overset{O}{V}$	miRutappaa	'a kind of food'
$\overset{Y}{C}\overset{O}{V}\overset{Y}{C}\overset{Y}{V}\overset{Y}{C}\overset{Y}{V}\overset{Y}{C}$	vinaakkiri	'vinegar'
$\overset{Y}{C}\overset{O}{V}\overset{Y}{V}\overset{W}{C}\overset{W}{V}\overset{W}{C}\overset{W}{V}$	cittaarippu	'suing'
$\overset{Y}{C}\overset{O}{V}\overset{O}{C}\overset{W}{V}\overset{W}{C}\overset{W}{V}\overset{W}{C}$	vi \uparrow ayaa \uparrow tu	'sports'
$\overset{W}{C}\overset{W}{V}\overset{W}{C}\overset{Y}{V}\overset{Y}{C}\overset{Y}{V}\overset{Y}{C}$	kurukkutti	'fungus'
$\overset{W}{V}\overset{Y}{C}\overset{W}{V}\overset{O}{C}\overset{O}{V}\overset{O}{C}\overset{O}{V}$	uttiyookam	'job'

$\overset{w}{\underset{v}{c}}\overset{o}{\underset{v}{c}}\overset{w}{\underset{v}{c}}\overset{v}{\underset{v}{c}}\overset{v}{\underset{v}{c}}$	uttaravu	'permission'
$\overset{w}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{o}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{y}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{w}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{v}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{v}{\underset{c}{v}}$	nottaaricu	'notary'
$\overset{w}{\underset{v}{c}}\overset{o}{\underset{v}{c}}\overset{o}{\underset{v}{c}}\overset{o}{\underset{v}{c}}\overset{v}{\underset{v}{c}}\overset{v}{\underset{v}{c}}$	utaaraanam	'example'
$\overset{w}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{o}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{o}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{y}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{v}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{v}{\underset{c}{v}}$	puraṭṭaaci	'the month of September'
$\overset{w}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{o}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{y}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{o}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{v}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{v}{\underset{c}{v}}$	cuvaattiyam	'sanitation'
$\overset{w}{\underset{v}{c}}\overset{x}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{o}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{o}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{v}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{v}{\underset{c}{v}}$	oṭṭiyaanam	'a waist ornament'
$\overset{o}{\underset{v}{c}}\overset{o}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{o}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{o}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{v}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{v}{\underset{c}{v}}$	annavannaa	'an edible fruit'
$\overset{o}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{y}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{o}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{o}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{v}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{v}{\underset{c}{v}}$	kaliyaanam	'wedding'
$\overset{o}{\underset{v}{c}}\overset{o}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{o}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{w}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{v}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{v}{\underset{c}{v}}$	alavaanku	'crow bar'
$\overset{o}{\underset{v}{c}}\overset{w}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{o}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{y}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{v}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{v}{\underset{c}{v}}$	alumaari	'almyrah'
$\overset{o}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{w}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{o}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{o}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{v}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{v}{\underset{c}{v}}$	varumaanam	'income'
$\overset{o}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{y}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{o}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{y}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{v}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{v}{\underset{c}{v}}$	mariyaate	'civility'
$\overset{o}{\underset{v}{c}}\overset{o}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{w}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{w}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{v}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{v}{\underset{c}{v}}$	aamatturu	'a Buddhist monk'
$\overset{o}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{w}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{y}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{o}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{v}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{v}{\underset{c}{v}}$	kaRuviyam	'revenge'
$\overset{o}{\underset{v}{c}}\overset{o}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{y}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{y}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{v}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{v}{\underset{c}{v}}$	aaspattiri	'hospital'
$\overset{o}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{y}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{o}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{w}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{v}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{v}{\underset{c}{v}}$	ṭayinamoo	'dynamo'
$\overset{o}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{y}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{w}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{w}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{v}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{v}{\underset{c}{v}}$	vaṅkiRoottu	'bankruptcy'
$\overset{o}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{o}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{y}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{o}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{v}{\underset{c}{v}}\overset{v}{\underset{c}{v}}$	rakaciyam	'secret'

TABLE 3.19

Prosodic pat. of Syl.	Pentasyllabic Example	Gloss
$\begin{smallmatrix} \times & o & \times & o & \times \\ \text{CVCVCVCVCV} \end{smallmatrix}$	piRakkiRaaci	'proctor'
$\begin{smallmatrix} \times & w & \times & w & w \\ \text{CVCVCVCVCV} \end{smallmatrix}$	ciluciluppu	'external show'
$\begin{smallmatrix} w & w & w & w & w \\ \text{CVCVCVCVCV} \end{smallmatrix}$	puRupuRuppu	'murmuring'
$\begin{smallmatrix} o & \times & o & \times & w \\ \text{CVCVCVCVCV} \end{smallmatrix}$	patepateppu	'trepidation'
$\begin{smallmatrix} o & o & o & o & w \\ \text{CVCVCVCVCV} \end{smallmatrix}$	pa apa appu	'that which is shining'
$\begin{smallmatrix} \times & w & \times & w & \times \\ \text{CVCVCVCVCV} \end{smallmatrix}$	kilukiluppe	'rattle'
$\begin{smallmatrix} o & w & o & w & w \\ \text{VCVCVCVCV} \end{smallmatrix}$	aruvaruppu	'hate'
$\begin{smallmatrix} \times & w & \times & w & w \\ \text{CVCVCVCVCV} \end{smallmatrix}$	viRuviRuppu	'tempo'
$\begin{smallmatrix} \times & w & w & \times & o \\ \text{CVCVCVCVCV} \end{smallmatrix}$	niyuumooniyaa	'pneumonia'
$\begin{smallmatrix} o & \times & w & o & o \\ \text{CVNCVCVCVCV} \end{smallmatrix}$	campiRutaayam	'convention'
$\begin{smallmatrix} o & w & \times & o & o \\ \text{VCVCVCVCVC} \end{smallmatrix}$	anukkirakam	'grace'
$\begin{smallmatrix} o & \times & w & \times & o \\ \text{VCVCVCVCVC} \end{smallmatrix}$	anniyoonniyam	'intimacy'

TABLE 3.20

3.6 THE MINOR SYSTEM OF SYLLABLE PROSODIES

3.6.1 Retroflexion, nasalization and aspiration constitute the minor system of syllable prosodies. Each of these comprises two terms, namely, the presence or absence of the relevant prosody. These will now be taken

into consideration one by one.

3.7

RETROFLEXION

3.7.1 One of the notable features of any dialect of Tamil is the frequency of occurrence of short and long retroflex consonants. The retroflex consonants that occur in the writer's dialect are [ɖ̌], [ɖ̌:], [ɖ̌], [ɖ̌], [ɖ̌:], [ɖ̌], [ɖ̌], [ɖ̌:] and [ɖ̌ɖ̌]. The distribution of these consonants is subject to the following restrictions. The only position in which a single [ɖ̌] occurs is in word-final position in loanwords. The only position in which a single [ɖ̌] occurs is in word-initial position in loanwords. The occurrence of [ɖ̌] and [ɖ̌] is restricted in native and marginal forms to intervocalic and final positions. [ɖ̌ɖ̌] occurs only intervocalically in native forms. In marginal forms, it occurs intervocalically and finally. All others occur only intervocalically in native and marginal forms.

3.7.2 Retroflexion as a syllable prosody can be abstracted from many nominal stems in Jaffna Tamil. By the presence of one or more retroflex consonants not only are such lingually articulated consonants retroflexed but also the preceding vowels. Retraction of front vowels and centralizing of back vowels are the phonetic exponents of the prosody of retroflexion. The retroflex 'colouring' of

vowels preceding retroflex consonants makes retroflexion a feature of the syllable.

3.1.3 The minor system of prosody of retroflexion consists of two terms, namely, presence of retroflexion and absence of retroflexion. The former is symbolised by the superscript R and the latter is left unmarked. The linear extension of the prosody is projected with the help of a horizontal line drawn under the superscript R .

3.1.4 When the prosody of retroflexion is abstracted, the phonematic residue in relation to C units is as follows: ⁶

[t̥] - voiceless plosive quality symbolised as P_V1 in the tables which follow (pp. 199-205).

[t̥:] - voiceless plosive quality symbolised as P̄V1 in the tables which follow.

[d̥] - voiced plosive quality symbolised as P in the tables which follow.

[ŋ̥] - voiced nasality symbolised as N in the tables which follow.

[ŋ̥:] - voiced nasality symbolised as N̄ in the tables which follow.

[ɾ] - voiced flap quality symbolised as X in the tables which follow.

[l̥] - voiced lateral quality symbolised as L in the tables which follow.

-
6. The use of the term "phonematic residue" should not be taken to imply that, once a prosody of retroflexion has been abstracted, a phonematic contrast of, for example, retroflex, dental and velar in a stop system is not possible.

[ɭ:] - voiced lateral quality symbolised as \bar{L} in the tables which follow

[ŋɖ] - voiced nasal and plosive qualities symbolised as NP in the tables which follow.

3.7.5 The retroflex consonants [ɭ], [ɭ:], [ɖ], [ŋ], [ŋ:], [ɽ], [ɭ], [ɭ:] and [ŋɖ] are represented in the following tables as PV1, $\bar{P}V1$, P, N, \bar{N} , X, L, \bar{L} and NP respectively.

3.7.6 The domain of retroflexion in terms of syllabic structures that have been outlined earlier is the nucleus of one syllable and the onset of the succeeding syllable. It covers the onset of the first of these two syllables in cases where the consonant articulation is velar or bilabial.

3.7.7 Examples from monosyllabic and polysyllabic stems are given in the following tables to illustrate the abstraction of the prosody of retroflexion.

	Monosyllabic Stem	Gloss
$\frac{R}{aa\bar{L}}$	$\bar{V}C$	'person'
$\frac{R}{aaN}$	"	'male'
$\frac{R}{kaN}$	CVC	'eye'

$\frac{R}{paaN}$	$C\bar{V}C$	'bread'
$\frac{R}{kooL}$	"	'one's punishable activities'
$\frac{R}{tooL}$	"	'shoulder'
$\frac{R}{sraaNP}$	$CC\bar{V}NC$	'stand'
$\frac{R}{vaaPVl}$	CVC	'ward'

TABLE 3.21

	Disyllabic Stem	Gloss
$\frac{R}{aXl}$	VCV	'beating'
$\frac{R}{lXl}$	"	'thunder'
$\frac{R}{oLi}$	"	'brightness'
$\frac{R}{uLi}$	VCV	'garlic'
$\frac{R}{uNi}$	"	'tick on animals'
$\frac{R}{a\bar{P}Vle}$	"	'leech'

$\frac{R}{aaXu}$	$\bar{V}CV$	'sheep(sg.)'
$\frac{R}{ooXu}$	"	'tile'
$\frac{R}{eeNi}$	"	'ladder'
$\frac{R}{a\bar{N}e}$	$V\bar{C}V$	'elder brother'
$\frac{R}{e\bar{L}u}$	"	'sesamum'
$\overline{oN}Pu$	$VNCV$	'one'
$\frac{R}{oo\bar{F}Vle}$	$\bar{V}\bar{C}V$	'hole'
\overline{eeLe}	$\bar{V}CV$	'a poor person'
$\frac{R}{aN}Paa$	$VNC\bar{V}$	'cauldron'
$\frac{R}{aaN}Pu$	$\bar{V}NCV$	'year'
$\frac{R}{taXi}$	$CVCV$	'stick'
$\frac{R}{tuNi}$	"	'cloth'
$\frac{R}{tuLi}$	"	'drop'

$\frac{R}{tuNPu}$	CVNVCV	'piece'
$\frac{R}{taaXi}$	CVCV	'beard'
$\frac{R}{kaaNi}$	"	'land'
$\frac{R}{kaaLi}$	"	'a goddess'
$\frac{R}{kaPVli}$	CVCV	'solid'
$\frac{R}{paLi}$	"	'school'
$\frac{R}{paNe}$	"	'farm'
$\frac{R}{toNPe}$	CVNVCV	'throat'
$\frac{R}{looPVli}$	CVCV	'ridicule'
$\frac{R}{teNPaa}$	CVNVCV	'physical exercise'
$\frac{R}{caaNPool}$	CVNVCV	'a man of physical strength'
$\frac{R}{tooPVlaa}$	CVCV	'cartridge'
aNi1	VCVC	'squirrel'

$\frac{R}{ooNaan}$	$\bar{V}C\bar{V}C$	'chameleon'
$\frac{R}{kaXal}$	$CVCVC$	'sea'
$\frac{R}{caNal}$	"	'coir'
$\frac{R}{kuLal}$	"	'pipe'
$\frac{R}{aNPal}$	$VNCVC$	'instigation'
$\frac{R}{ta\bar{P}Vlam}$	$CV\bar{C}VC$	'tray'
$\frac{R}{ve\bar{L}am}$	"	'flood'
$\frac{R}{miNPam}$	$CVNCVC$	'headless body'
$\frac{R}{vaaNam}$	$C\bar{V}CVC$	'cracker'
$\frac{R}{taaLam}$	"	'tune'
$\frac{R}{paaXam}$	"	'lesson'
$\frac{R}{e\bar{N}am}$	$V\bar{C}VC$	'idea'
$\frac{R}{va\bar{N}aan}$	$CV\bar{C}\bar{V}C$	'washerman'

R
taP̄Vlaan CV̄C̄VC 'goldsmith'

R
vaN̄am C̄V̄C̄VC 'colour'

TABLE 3.22

	Trisyllabic Stem	Gloss
<u>R</u> paP̄VlaXe	CV̄C̄VCV	'hay barn'
<u>R</u> paP̄VlaaNi	CV̄C̄VCV	'a kind of gram'
<u>R</u> caN̄PaaLi	CVNC̄VCV	'a sinner'
<u>R</u> kaP̄VlaLe	CV̄C̄VCV	'order'
<u>R</u> poP̄VlaNi	CV̄C̄VCV	'bundle'
<u>R</u> paP̄VlaNam	CV̄C̄VCVC	'town'
<u>R</u> paP̄VlaaLam	CV̄C̄VCVC	'battalion'
<u>R</u> kaN̄aaXi	CV̄C̄VCV	'glass'
<u>R</u> kaP̄VlaaXi	"	'washerman'

TABLE 3.23

	Quadrisyllabic Stem	Gloss
<u>R</u> kuuP̄VlaaLi	CV̄C̄VCV	'friend'
karuvaa <u>R</u> Xu	CVCVCV̄CV	'dried fish'
<u>R</u> kaXutaaci	"	'paper'
<u>R</u> paXaaXoopam	CVCV̄C̄VCVC	'ostensation'
<u>R</u> viXutale	CVCVCVCV	'holiday'

TABLE 3.24

Absence of Retroflexion

3.7.8 The prosody of retroflexion can only be ascribed to syllables which end in a retroflex consonant or which are immediately followed by a syllable beginning with a retroflex consonant.

Rdg. Tpn.	Stem	Gloss
tokke	CV̄C̄V	'that which is fat'
nuni	CVCV	'tip'
kuure	CV̄C̄V	'roof'
kareccal	CVCVC̄VC	'trouble'
camaati	CVCV̄CV	'tomb'
taRutale	CVCVCVCV	'a never do well type of a person'

camaataanam	CVC \bar{V} C \bar{V} CVC	'peace'
piRakkiRaaci	CVCV \bar{C} VC \bar{V} CV	'proctor'

TABLE 3.25

3.8

NASALIZATION

- 3.8.1 The short and long nasal consonants that occur in the writer's dialect are as follows: [m] , [m:] , [n] , [n̥] , [n:] , [n̥] , [n̥:] , [ɲ] , [ɲ:] and [ŋ] (cf. pp. 80-83). The restrictions on their distribution are as follows:
- [m] and [n] occur initially, intervocalically and finally in native and marginal forms. The only position in which a single [ɲ] occurs is in word-initial position in marginal forms. [ɲ] occurs medially before the homorganic affricate [dʒ] in native and marginal forms. [ɲ:] occurs only intervocalically and for its occurrence forms could be attested only from the marginal class.
- [n̥] occurs only medially before the homorganic plosive [d̥] in native and marginal forms. In native forms, [ŋ] occurs only medially before the homorganic velar plosive [g] . In marginal forms [ŋ] occurs finally as a single consonant and medially it occurs before the homorganic velar plosive [g] . All the others only occur intervocalically in native and marginal forms.
- 3.8.2 Nasalization as a syllable prosody can be

abstracted from innumerable nominal stems in Jaffna Tamil. As already mentioned in Chapter 1 (See 1.9.3) there are no independent nasalized vowels in the writer's dialect. Dependent nasalization as a feature of the syllable can be recognized in many instances. The operation of the minor system of the prosody of nasalization is restricted to those syllables in which vowels are preceded by a nasal. Syllables in which a nasal consonant follows are not characterized by this feature of nasalization.

3.8.3 Two terms, namely, the prosody of nasalization and the prosody of absence of nasalization constitute the minor system of prosody of nasalization. The prosody of presence of nasalization is represented by the superscript N and the prosody of absence of nasalization is left unmarked. The horizontal line under N indicates the projection of the linear extension of the prosody.

When nasalization has been abstracted, the phonematic residue in relation to C units is as follows:

[m] - bilabiality⁷ symbolised as B in the tables which follow (pp. 209 - 214).

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7. Voicing has not been mentioned above because once the nasality is removed, voicing simultaneously stops. Nasality and voicing are simultaneous processes in Tamil.

[ɲ] - dentality symbolised as D in the following tables.

[n] - alveolar quality symbolised as A in the following tables.

[ɲ] - palatal quality symbolised as P in the following tables.

[ŋ] - retroflexion symbolised as R in the following tables.

[ŋ] - velarity symbolised as V in the following tables.

3.8.4 The nasal consonants [m] , [m:] , [ɲ] , [n] , [n:] , [ŋ] , [ŋ:] , [ɲ] , [ɲ:] and [ŋ] are represented in the following tables by the symbols B , \bar{B} , D , A , \bar{A} , R , \bar{R} , P , \bar{P} and V respectively.⁸

Presence of Nasalization

3.8.5 In some disyllabic and trisyllabic words, all the syllables are characterized by the prosody of

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8. It will be realized that in the case of the units symbolised as R and \bar{R} , one is, in fact concerned simultaneously with the prosodies of retroflexion and nasalization. For the sake of simplicity of presentation, however, the prosody of retroflexion is not abstracted in the presentation of the account of the prosody of nasalization which follows.

nasalization. In these instances, nasalization may be abstracted as a word prosody.

Disyllabic

		Gloss
1.	$\frac{N}{\text{BaaBaa}}$	'maternal uncle'
2.	$\frac{N}{\text{BaaBi}}$	'maternal aunt'
3.	$\frac{N}{\text{AuAi}}$	'tip'
4.	$\frac{N}{\text{PaaAi}}$	'an ascetic'
5.	$\frac{N}{\text{BaRe}}$	'that which is blunt'
6.	$\frac{N}{\text{BaaAaB}}$	'honour'
7.	$\frac{N}{\text{BaAaB}}$	'mind'
8.	$\frac{N}{\text{BaRaB}}$	'smell'

TABLE 3.26

See kymograms 41-45 and 8.3.21. Examples 1-5 show that a vowel flanked on either side by a nasal is nasalized even if the nasals belong to two different syllables.

Trisyllabic

		Gloss
1.	$\frac{N}{\text{BaaBicaB}}$	'flesh'
2.	$\frac{N}{\text{BaRiyaB}}$	'proper name (mas.)'
3.	$\frac{N}{\text{BaAicaA}}$	'man'
4.	$\frac{N}{\text{AaaRayaB}}$	'integrity'

TABLE 3.27

The above four examples are with a word-initial nasal, a word-final nasal and another intervocalic nasal. All the three nasals tend to be heavily nasalized.

Apart from these instances, in all other instances, the prosody of nasalization is referable to specific syllables and not to the word as a whole.

- 3.8.6(a) In polysyllabic stems, if the vowel in one syllable has a nasal consonant on either side of it that syllable alone is characterized by the prosody of nasalization.

 Gloss

$\frac{N}{BaDti}$ 'male monkey'

$\frac{N}{AaRtu}$ 'crab'

$\frac{N}{BaPca}$ 'saffron'

$\frac{N}{AaaBpaA}$ 'bull'

$\frac{N}{BaVka}$ 'that which is not bright'

$\frac{N}{piRaB}$ 'corpse'

$\frac{N}{ciAaB}$ 'irritation'

$\frac{N}{pa}t\frac{N}{aRaB}$ 'town'

Raa $\frac{N}{tiAaB}$ 'spinning wheel'

$\frac{N}{viPaaAaB}$ 'science'

$\frac{N}{aAaaci}$ 'pineapple'

$\frac{N}{AaB}pikke$	'hope'
$o\ddot{t}tiyaa\frac{N}{RaB}$	'a waist ornament'
$avataa\frac{N}{AaB}$	'observation'
$utaara\frac{N}{RaB}$	'example'

TABLE 3.28

See kymograms 46-50 and 8.3.23.

3.8.7 (b) In disyllabic and trisyllabic stems of the syllabic structure (C) $\check{V}-\check{C}\check{V}$ or $C\check{V}-\check{C}\check{V}-C\check{V}$, if the C of the second or third syllable or of both syllables is a nasal, the vowel that follows the nasal alone is nasalized. In other words, the prosody of nasalization extends only to that syllable in which the nasal consonant occurs.

Disyllabic

	Gloss
$\frac{N}{a\bar{B}i}$	'grinding stone'
$\frac{N}{u\bar{R}i}$	'tick on animals'

$\text{ki}\overline{\text{Ri}}^{\text{N}}$	'small utensil'
$\text{ka}\overline{\text{Ai}}^{\text{N}}$	'tender fruit'
$\text{ee}\overline{\text{Ri}}^{\text{N}}$	'ladder'
$\text{aa}\overline{\text{Ai}}^{\text{N}}$	'the month of June'
$\text{pa}\overline{\text{Ai}}^{\text{N}}$	'dew'
$\text{tu}\overline{\text{Ri}}^{\text{N}}$	'cloth'
$\text{kee}\overline{\text{Ri}}^{\text{N}}$	'tank'
$\text{pee}\overline{\text{Ae}}^{\text{N}}$	'pen'
$\text{caa}\overline{\text{Bi}}^{\text{N}}$	'god'

TABLE 3.29

TrisyllabicGloss

$\text{coo}\overline{\text{ti}}^{\text{N}}\text{Ae}$	'decoration'
--	--------------

kiru^NBi

'germ'

taava^Nri

'an item of female's dress'

ci^NBiAi

'chimney'

TABLE 3.30

See kymograms 54-56 and 8.3.25.

3.8.8 Word-initial syllables which have a nasal consonant as the releasing consonant are characterized by the prosody of nasalization.

Gloss

^NBokku

'hard wood'

^NAaakku

'tongue'

TABLE 3.31

See kymograms 36, 52-53, 68, 71 and 73 and 8.3.24.

Absence of Nasalization

3.8.9 (d) Word-final syllables which end in a nasal consonant are not characterized by the prosody of nasalization if there is no other nasal consonant in that or preceding syllables.

Rdg. Tpn.	Gloss
pakkam	'side'
cippam	'bundle'
ta [̣] ttam	'tray'
kuRRam	'guilt'
paRuvam	'full moon day'
ciloon	'Ceylon'
kuRoo [̣] ttan	'croton'
pavun [̣]	'gold'
kaRuviam	'revenge'

TABLE 3.32

See kymograms 25, 61-63 and 75 and 8.3.27.

3.8.10 (e) The vowels in monosyllabic stems of the syllabic pattern (C)[̣]VC wherein the final C is a nasal are not nasalized.

Rdg. Tpn.	Gloss
een	'why'
aan [̣]	'male'
Rim	'rim'
pin	'pin'
kan [̣]	'eye'
teen	'honey'

peen	'well sweep prop'
paam	'balm'
paan̩	'bank'

TABLE 3.33

See kymograms 57-60 and 8.3.26.

3.8.11 The prosody of nasalization cannot be ascribed to syllables with no nasal consonants in them.

Rdg. Tpn.	Gloss
tava]e	'frog'
katali	'a kind of banana'
paakku	'arecanut'
cayikki]	'bicycle'
†aakkuttar	'doctor'

TABLE 3.34

See kymograms 15, 24, 26, 29, 33, 35 , 65-67 and 69-70 and 8.3.28.

3.9

ASPIRATION

3.9.1 The third minor system of syllable prosody of the language under survey is aspiration. This system comprises two terms, namely, the prosody of presence of aspiration and the prosody of absence of aspiration.

3.9.2 In general terms, the prosody of aspiration can only , apply to syllables beginning with a voiceless stop consonant..

Only these consonants are capable of being aspirated with various degrees of aspiration. In the dialect of Tamil under survey, word-initial voiceless stops are slightly aspirated (See kymograms 12-15). Intervocalic double or long voiceless plosives are negligibly aspirated and one comes across many instances of intervocalic double stops totally unaspirated (See 8.3.11-8.3.16). So the domain of the prosody of aspiration is the initial syllable of nominals beginning with a voiceless plosive. It is a demarcative prosody. [p], [t], [t̪] and [k] are the four voiceless plosives that occur initially in the writer's dialect. Of these [p], [t] and [k] occur initially in native and marginal forms. [t̪] occurs freely in marginal forms. It is essentially non-initial in native forms.

3.9.3 In the reading transcription, the prosody of presence of aspiration is symbolised by the superscript ^h and the prosody of absence of aspiration is left unmarked. A few examples for the abstraction of both prosodies are listed below:

Presence of Aspiration

Initial [p] ^h
puli 'tiger'

" " ^h
puunti 'an eatable'

Initial	[t]	$\frac{h}{\text{tanti}}$	'telegram'
"	"	$\frac{h}{\text{ta}t\text{ti}}$	'an ola screen'
"	[t]	$\frac{h}{\text{ren}t\text{u}}$	'two'
"	"	$\frac{h}{\text{raakam}}$	'tune'
"	[k]	$\frac{h}{\text{kuppe}}$	'rubbish'
"	"	$\frac{h}{\text{karumpu}}$	'sugar cane'

See kymograms 12-15.

Absence of Aspiration

3.9.4 Words in which there is no initial plosive can be said to be characterized by the prosody of absence of aspiration in all their syllables.

e.g. $\text{mi}n\text{t}\text{u}$ 'prop' , $\text{loo}t\text{ti}$ 'ridicule'
 $\text{va}l\text{avu}$ 'compound' , Reecar 'razor'
 $\text{campa}l\text{am}$ 'salary' , yaavaaram 'trade'

See kymograms 15, 23, 26, 31, 33, 40-48, 50, 54-55 and 59).

3.9.5 So far the prosodic characteristics of the syllables of nominal stems have been individually discussed and abstracted as Y , W and O prosodies, Retroflexion,

Nasalization and Aspiration. In some instances, it has been shown that the major system of prosodies and the minor system of prosody of nasalization could be abstracted as word prosodies. The possibilities of stating all the four systems (one major and three minor systems) are explored in the following section. A few polysyllabic examples are attested below for the operation of the major system and the three minor systems of syllable prosodies discussed separately in the preceding sections. In a few examples O-prosody could be abstracted as a word prosody.

Prosodic characteristics of Syl.	Example	Gloss
h N R O CVCVC	paṇam	'money'
h N R O CV̄CVCVC	paṭṭaṇam	'town'

h
N
R
O
CVNCVCVC

kaṇṭaṇam

'polemic writing'

h
N
R
O
CVNCVCVCVC

kaṇṭaavanam

'dry season'

h
N
R
O
CVCV

kaṇṭi

'land'

h
N
R
W
O
CVVCVC

koonam

'angle'

h
N
R
O
Y Y
CVVCVCV

paṭṭiṇi

'hunger'

h
N
R
O
Y
CVVCVCV

paṭṭaṇi

'a kind of gram'

3.10 PHONEMATIC ELEMENTS OF STRUCTUREV- UNITS

3.10.1 Taking into consideration the fact that various types of vowel articulation are commutable between various places in structure for which prosodies such as Y , W and O ,vowel grade and syllable quantity (all of which are discussed in this and the following chapter) are statable, three V-units representing three degrees of openness are set up in this thesis. These three V-units are symbolised⁹ as follows.

- (a) I represents the close unit.
- (b) E " " mid "
- (c) A " " open "

3.10.2 The close unit symbolised as I stands for the maximum degree of closeness recognizable in vocalic articulations at a given place in the structure. Phonetically

9. For purpose of typographical simplicity the symbols I , E and A are preferred to ɪ , ɛ and ʌ . They only stand for the three degrees of openness and do not carry any implication of frontness or backness. I , E and A are convenient mnemonic cover symbols representing vocalic elements in phonological statements and formulae embodied in this thesis.

the close unit normally implies a vowel articulation with a tongue position intermediate between close and half-close.

3.10.3 The open unit symbolised as A stands for the maximum degree of openness recognizable in vocalic articulations at a given place in the structure.

3.10.4 The mid unit symbolised as E stands for the intermediate degree of closeness or openness of vocalic articulations recognizable at a given place in the structure. The mid unit phonetically implies a vowel articulation between half-close and half-open.

3.10.5 The phonetic implications of different degrees of frontness, backness and lip-rounding identifiable in the different syllables in a given structure are stated in relation to syllable prosodies already discussed (See above pp.173 - 175).

3.10.6 Nominal forms whose syllables contrast prosodically thereby indicating the maximum difference in the V-units to be stated are illustrated in the following table.

V units to be stated	Generalized Structure of Stems				
	Y (C)V(C)	Y (C)V(C)	W (C)(C)(C)V(C)	W (C)V(C)	O (C)V(C)
I	[i] Ril	[i:] nif miin	[u] skRu puŋ	[u:] puu kuur	-
E	[e] peŋ	[e:] pee peenŋ	[o] pon	[o:] noo tool	-
A	[æ] va	-	-	- kanŋ	[a:] maa maan

TABLE 3.36

The above examples and others that are too numerous to list here, justify the setting up of a \check{V}_3 vowel grade system showing the maximum choice stable for the stem syllables of nominal forms.¹⁰ It will be apparent from the gaps in this matrix, that a more economic statement would be possible, if the O-prosodic syllables with open-grade vowel were classified as W-prosodic syllables. This, however, would have led to problems with regard to the statement of the phonetic exponents of W-prosody.

¹⁰. The numeral subscript 3 in the formulaic expression \check{V}_3 indicates the number of terms available in the system.

3.11

C-UNITS

3.11.1 In the chapter on Vowel and Consonant Articulations thirty symbols representing consonant articulations in the reading and phonetic transcriptions were discussed in detail. For the purpose of phonological analysis, these consonant articulations are grouped under the following six heads:

- | | |
|---------------|----------------------|
| (a) Plosive | (d) Liquid / Trilled |
| (b) Affricate | (e) Fricative |
| (c) Nasal | (f) Continuant |

3.11.2 For the sake of convenience, when making phonological statements and formulae, the above shown six sets of C-units will be referred to as P , Q , N , L , F and Z¹¹. Each of these systems differs from the others in different ways as

- (a) in the number of elements constituting the system of phonematic units.

11. Note that the choice of Q and Z as symbols for the affricate C units and continuant C units is entirely arbitrary. Wherever possible, symbols with some mnemonic value have been chosen. But there are unavoidable limits to this.

(b) in the place of occurrence in the structure as word-initial, medial or final.

and (c) in relation to the prosodic features of the syllables in which they occur.

PLOSIVE SET

3.11.3 A maximum of nine C-units comprise the plosive set ([p] , [b] , [t] , [d̥] , [t̥] , [t̪] , [d̪] , [k] and [g]). Of these [d̥] occurs only medially and that too as an element of a homorganic cluster. These nine phonematic units can be grouped as labial, apical (thus including dental, alveolar and retroflex) and dorsal (thus including palatal and velar). The P system ranks as the most extensive system in the language and has the widest range of places of articulation. In regard to prosodic characteristics also the P system is the most extensive system wherein voiced and voiceless articulations occur with plosion.

P System

3.11.4 A maximum of four C-units operates initially in native forms. There are severe restrictions on the operation of the P system. All the four C-units, namely, the labial, dental, alveolar and velar units ([p] , [t] , [t̪] and [k]) operate initially (See

kymograms 6, 12, 14, 20, 22 and 24).

Native

$\frac{P^{12}}{4}$

Initial P System $\frac{P-}{4}$

	Labial	pira i	'mischief'
Apical	(Dental)	tuukku	'hanging'
"	(Alveolar)	reŋ u [teŋdɯ]	'two'
Dorsal	(Velar)	ko ukkan	'a kind of scorpion'

See kymograms 2-6, 20, 57-58, 64-65 and 75.

Medial P System

3.11.5 [b], [d], [d̥] and [g] occur as an element of a medial homorganic cluster in native forms. e.g. tumpu [tumbu] 'fibre', ilante [ilande] 'name of a tree', paŋ|i [paŋd̥i] 'pig' and ki|anku [ki|aŋgɯ] 'yam'. See kymograms 2-5 and 46-47.

Marginal

$\frac{P}{8}$

3.11.6 The P system with its widest range of places of articulation operates with a maximum of eight C-units

-
12. The numeral subscript 4 in the formulaic expression $\frac{P}{4}$ indicates the number of terms available in the system.

in marginal forms. The labial ([p] and [b]), dental [t], alveolar [t̪], retroflex ([ʈ] and [ɖ]) and velar ([k] and [g]) operate word-initially in marginal forms.

Initial P System $\frac{P-}{7}$

Labial	pooʈar	[po:ʈ:ɐ]	'porter'
"	paluun	[bɔlu:n]	'balloon'
(Dental)	tavaRane	[tʌʋʌrʌŋ]	'tavern'
Apical (Alveolar)	riyuup	[t̪iju:p]	'tube'
(Retroflex)	ʈikki	[ɖik:i]	'dickey'
Dorsal (Velar)	kavucci	[kʌʋʉt:ʃi]	'couch'
"	kaas	[ga:s]	'gas'

See kymograms 8-11, 15, 21, 23 and 63.

Medial P System $\frac{-P-}{1}$

3.11.7 Only the labial [b] occurs medially. ([b] , [ɖ] , [ʈ] and [g] occur as an element of a medial homorganic cluster as in native forms. See kymograms 7-10).

Labial	peepi	[be:bi]	'baby'
--------	-------	---------	--------

Final P System $\frac{-P}{4}$

Only the labial [p] , alveolar [t̪] , retroflex [ʈ] and velar [k] occur finally.

Labial	coop	[so:p]	'soap'
Apical (Alveolar)	kooʈ	[ko:t̪]	'coat'

Apical (Retroflex)	vaa[[ʋa:ʈ]]	'ward'
Dorsal (Velar)	paak [pa:k]	'park'

-P̄- System

3.11.8 The P̄ system operative medially in native nominal forms consists of five terms in the system, for the terms of which plosive articulations are to be stated.

Native -P̄-
5

	<u>after short vowel</u>	<u>after long vowel</u>
Labial	kappu 'pillar'	kaappu 'bangle'
(Dental)	kutti 'log'	paatti 'flower bed'
Apical (Alveolar)	oRRe [ot:ɛ] 'page'	tooRRam [to:t:am] 'appearance'
(Retroflex)	ta[ʈ]u 'tray'	caa[ʈ]u 'pretext'
Dorsal (Velar)	vikkal 'hicc- ough'	paakku 'arecanut'

See kymograms 16-20, 22, 24-25, 27, 29, 61, 71 and 73 and spectrograms 5-7, 10-16 and 18-20.

The P̄ system operative medially in marginal forms also consists of five terms. Marginal -P̄-
5

	<u>after short vowel</u>	<u>after long vowel</u>
Labial	toppi 'hat'	kaappuli 'a negro'
Apical (Dental)	muttire 'stamp'	raattiri 'night'
(Alveolar)	piiRRar [pi:t:ɛr] 'proper name'	mi[ʈ]ar [mi:t:ɛr] 'meter'

Apical (Retroflex) pe^tɬicam 'petition' skuu^tɬar 'scooter'
 Dorsal (Velar) kokkoo 'cocoa' laakkiri 'sealing
 wax'

See kymograms 21, 23, 30 and 66 and spectrograms 1,
 8-9 and 17.

AFFRICATE SET

3.11.9 A maximum of two C-units can be set up for the affricate system which operates only in marginal forms in the initial and final positions. [ɬ] occurs as an element of a medial homorganic cluster in native and marginal forms. The affricate system operates with restrictions as can be seen from the following examples.

Marginal $\frac{Q^{13}}{2}$

Initial Q System $\frac{Q-}{2}$

Dorsal (Palatal) cek [tʃek] 'cheque'

" " jiip [ɬji:p] 'jeep'

Final Q System $\frac{-Q}{1}$

Dorsal (Palatal) vaac [ʋa:tʃ] 'wrist watch'

-Q- System

3.11.10 The \bar{Q} system operative medially in native and marginal forms consists of only one term.

13. See footnote 9 on page 224.

Native $\frac{-Q-}{1}$

Dorsal (Palatal) puucci [pu:t:[i] 'an insect'

Marginal $\frac{-Q-}{1}$

" " vaaccar [ʋa:t:[aɪ] 'watchman'

See palatogram 8.

NASAL SET

3.11.11 As far as the number of units operating in the system are concerned, the nasal or N system together with the fricative system ranks second among the six systems discussed in this thesis. A maximum of six C-units which can be grouped into three groups, namely, labial, apical (including dental, alveolar and retroflex) and dorsal (including palatal and velar) constitute the nasal system. The operation of the N system in different points of structure is subject to many kinds of restrictions as the forms attested below will reveal.

Initial N System $\frac{N-}{3}$ Native $\frac{N-}{2}$

Labial muule 'corner'

Apical (non-retroflex) naaval 'name of a tree'

See kymograms 36, 44-47, 51, 53, 68, 71 and 73.

Marginal $\frac{N-}{3}$

Labial mil 'mill'

Apical (Alveolar) noo[†]u 'currency note'

Dorsal (Palatal) naanam 'proper name (fem.)'

See kymograms 7, 40-43 and 48.

Medial N System $\frac{-N-}{3}$

3.11.12 A maximum of three C-units could be set up for native and marginal forms.

Native $\frac{-N-}{3}$

after short vowel after long vowel

Labial cume 'weight' teemal 'a kind of skin rash'

Apical(non-retro- cine 'embryo' kuuni 'small shrimp' flex)

" (Retroflex) piṇam 'corpse' toonṇi 'boat'

See palatogram 29 and kymograms 44-45, 49 and 56.

Marginal $\frac{-N-}{3}$

Labial komican 'commission' aamaar 'hammer'

Apical(non-retro- kucini 'kitchen' peene 'pen' flex)

" (Retroflex) kaaraṇam 'reason' kaanival 'carnival'

See kymograms 40-43 and 54-55.

Final N System $-\frac{N}{4}$

3.11.13 The N system operative finally in native forms comprises three terms.

		<u>Native</u> $-\frac{N}{3}$	
		<u>after short vowel</u>	<u>after long vowel</u>
Labial	otukkam	'seclusion' -	
Apical(non-ret-roflex)	kaɭan	'debt'	teen 'honey'
" (retro-flex)	puɳ	'wound'	puuɳ 'knob'

See kymograms 25, 49, 51, 57-58, 60-62 and 75.

The final N system for marginal forms comprises four terms.

		<u>Marginal</u> $-\frac{N}{4}$	
		<u>after short vowel</u>	<u>after long vowel</u>
Labial	Rim	'rim'	paam 'balm'
Apical(non-ret-roflex)	kalan	'gallon'	poon 'telephone'
" (Retro-flex)	pavuɳ	'gold'	paauɳ 'bread'
Dorsal(Velar)	Riɳ	'(piston) ring'	raauɳ [ta:ɳ] 'tank'

See kymograms 40-43 and 59.

-N- System

3.11.14 In marginal and native forms, the \bar{N} system operates medially only before short vowels. The \bar{N} system operative medially in native forms comprises three terms.

Native \bar{N}
3

Labial kummi 'a kind of dancing and singing'
Apical(non-retro- cannam 'pellet'
flex)

" (Retroflex) ennam 'idea'

See palatogram 16 and kymogram 50.

The \bar{N} system stated medially in marginal forms consists of four terms.

Marginal \bar{N}
4

Labial	cimmini	'chimney'
Apical(non-retroflex)	annaaci	'pineapple'
" (Retroflex)	vanam	'colour'
Dorsal(Palatal)	vipaanam	'science'

-NP- System

3.11.15 The -NP- system operative medially in native and marginal forms consists of five terms. Phonetically, these are distinguished by the continuity of voice all along the articulation and by the cutting off of nasality at the shutting phase of the plosive(See kymograms 2-14).

Native -NP-
5

	<u>after short vowel</u>	<u>after long vowel</u>
Labial	kompu [kombu] 'horn'	paampu [pa:mbu] 'snake'
Apical(Dental)	pontu [pon <u>ɲ</u> du] 'hole'	caantu [sa: <u>ɲ</u> du] 'paste'
" (Retroflex)	kan <u>ɲ</u> tu [ka <u>ɲ</u> du] 'young plant'	puun <u>ɲ</u> tu [pu: <u>ɲ</u> du] 'shrub'
Dorsal(Palatal)	pincu [pi <u>ɲ</u> du] 'tender fruit'	uuncal [u: <u>ɲ</u> du] 'swing'
" (Velar)	kura <u>ŋ</u> ku [ku: <u>ŋ</u> gw] 'monkey'	muun <u>ŋ</u> kil [mu: <u>ŋ</u> gil] 'bamboo'

See kymograms 2-6, 12 and 14 and 8.3.10.

Marginal -NP-
5

	<u>after short vowel</u>	<u>after long vowel</u>
Labial	memp <u>a</u> r [mem <u>b</u> ər] 'member'	laampu [la:mbu] 'lamp'
Apical (Dental)	tanti [t <u>ɲ</u> di] 'telegram'	laant <u>a</u> r [la: <u>ɲ</u> ɔr] 'lantern'
" (Retroflex)	tan <u>ɲ</u> tu [t <u>ɲ</u> du] 'stem'	kaan <u>ɲ</u> am [ka: <u>ɲ</u> ɔm] 'chapter'
Dorsal (Palatal)	pencil [pen <u>ɲ</u> ɔil] 'pencil'	leenci [le: <u>ɲ</u> ɔi] 'handkerchief'
" (Velar)	pa <u>a</u> ŋki [pa: <u>ŋ</u> gi] 'a Burgher'	vaan <u>ŋ</u> ku [va: <u>ŋ</u> gw] 'bench'

See kymograms 7-11 and 48 and 8.3.10.

LIQUID SET

3.11.16 A maximum of five phonematic units can be recognized as operating within the liquid system in the language. The flapped alveolar articulation [ɾ], the retroflex flap articulation [ɽ] and the trilled [r] are handled under the L system.

Intervocally all the five C-units operate in native and marginal forms.

Native $-\frac{L}{5}-$

	<u>after short vowel</u>	<u>after long vowel</u>
Flapped(Alveolar)	uruttu [uɾut:u] 'right'	maari [ma:ɾi] 'rainy season'
Lateral(Alveolar)	cile 'statue'	ciile 'cloth'
Flapped(Retroflex)	taɽi [tɽɾi] 'stick'	paaɽu [pa:ɽu] 'position'
Lateral(Retroflex)	muɽe 'sprout'	muuɽe 'brain'
Trill	kuRe [kure] 'worry'	kuuRe [ku:re] 'sari' 'bridal sari'

See kymograms 35-36, 64 and 67-75.

Marginal $-\frac{L}{5}-$

	<u>after short vowel</u>	<u>after long vowel</u>
Flapped(Alveolar)	kuru [kufu] 'teacher'	caaram [sa:ɾəm] 'an item of male's dress'
Lateral(Alveolar)	Rali 'a brand of bicycle'	paalam 'bridge'

Flapped(Retroflex) Ravu[†]i [rʌʋmɪ] vii[†]i [ʋi:ɪ] 'a native
'rowdy' cigar'

Lateral(Retroflex) kampa[]]am 'carpet' vaa[]]i 'bucket'

Trill kuRaam [kura:n] caaRi [sa:ri] 'sari'
'bible of Islam'

See kymograms 10, 23 and 54.

Initial L System $\frac{L-}{2}$

3.11.17 As far as native forms are concerned, the L system is essentially non-initial (See table 1.6 on page 90). There are however a few instances in which the L system operates initially. Native $\frac{L-}{2}$

Lateral (Alveolar) laattu 'stroll'

Trill Raal [ra:l] 'prawn'

Only two terms can be recognized as operating initially in marginal forms. Though the number and nature of the terms of the L system in the native forms tally with those of the marginal ones it should be mentioned here that unlike in the native class of nominals numerous forms could be attested in the marginal class of nominals for the initial operation of the L system.

Marginal $\frac{L-}{2}$

Lateral (Alveolar) layin 'line'

Trill Rippeer [rip:e:f] 'repair'

See kymogram 59.

Final L System $-\frac{L}{3}$

3.11.18 The final L system comprises three terms in both the native and marginal forms.

Native $-\frac{L}{3}$

	<u>after short vowel</u>	<u>after long vowel</u>
Flapped (Alveolar)	mayir [mʌjɪr] 'hair'	vaar [ʋa:ɾ]'strap'
Lateral (Alveolar)	viral 'finger'	meel 'body'
" (Retroflex)	cuRu] 'that which is rolled'	muu] 'stalk'

See kymograms 16 , 39 , 69 and 72.

Marginal $-\frac{L}{3}$

	<u>after short vowel</u>	<u>after long vowel</u>
Flapped (Alveolar)	maneeccar [mʌne:tʃəɾ] 'maneger'	kantoor [kʌndɔ:ɾ] 'office'
Lateral (Alveolar)	Raattal 'one pound'	ciil 'seal'
Lateral (Retroflex)	appi] 'apple'	-

See kymograms 7 , 11 , 48 and 66.

Liquids in Medial Clusters

3.11.19 The following are the restrictions on the number of terms of the liquid system operative in medial heterorganic clusters.

(a) Native System

	<u>before</u> [p]	<u>before</u> [m]
Flapped	vaarppu 'cast'	neerme 'honesty'
	<u>before</u> [h]	<u>before</u> [ʊ]
"	veerka [ʊe:ɾhə] 'roots'	veerve [ʊe:ɾʊɛ] 'sweat'
	<u>before</u> [k]	<u>before</u> [β]
Lateral (Alveolar)	Raalkkaari 'prawn seller(fem.)'	iyalpu [ijʌlβm] 'means'
	<u>before</u> [ʊ]	
"	toolvi [to:ɭʊi] 'defeat'	
	<u>before</u> [p]	<u>before</u> [t]
Lateral (Retroflex)	yaaɭppaanam 'Jaffna'	vaaɭttu 'blessing'
	<u>before</u> [k]	<u>before</u> [m]
"	vaaɭkke 'life'	koɭmati 'cost price'
	<u>before</u> [ʊ]	
"	vaaɭvu [ʊa:ɭʊm] 'conjugal life'	

(b) Marginal System

Unlike the native system, the marginal system has liquid consonants sometimes preceded by other consonants in heterorganic clusters.

	<u>before</u> [p]	<u>before</u> [t]
Flapped	caṇtarppam 'opportunity'	arttam 'meaning'
	<u>before</u> [k]	<u>before</u> [m]
"	tarkkam 'argument'	marmam 'mystery'

	<u>before</u> [s]	<u>before</u> [h]
Flapped	cipaarcu [si ^β a:fsw] 'recommendation'	kaarka [ka:r ^h ə] 'cars'
	<u>before</u> [ʊ]	
"	puurvam [pu:f ^ʊ əm] 'before'	
	<u>before</u> [b]	<u>before</u> [k]
Lateral (Alveolar)	al pam [ʌlbəm] 'album'	telkkoo [tɛlkkoo] 'delco'
	<u>before</u> [s]	<u>before</u> [k]
"	alceecan [ʌlse:fən] 'alsation'	mayilka [m ^ʌ jil ^h ə] 'miles'
	<u>before</u> [ʊ]	<u>after</u> [j]
"	payilvaan [p ^ʌ jil ^ʊ a:n] 'wrestler'	paylaa [b ^ʌ jla:] 'a kind of dancing and singing'

FRICATIVE SET

3.11.20 The F system comprises a maximum of six C-units which can be distinguished as labial, dental, denti-alveolar, palato-alveolar and glottal. The F system is second only to the P system as far as the number of units constituting the system is concerned. This system is non-final in native forms.

Intervocalically

Native -F-
3

after short vowel after long vowel

Dental kuti [ku^ʈi] 'heel' paati [pa:^ʈi] 'half'

Alveolar	paci [pa:si] 'hunger'	paaci [pa:si] 'moss'
Velar	taraku [ta:ʔa:ɸu]	paaku [pa:ɸu] 'jaggery' 'brokerage'

See palatograms 27 and 28 and kymogram 65.

Marginal $-\frac{F}{5}$

	<u>after short vowel</u>	<u>after long vowel</u>
Labial	cape [sa:βe] 'assembly'	laapam [la:βəm] 'profit'
Dental	rati [ta:ði] 'proper name (fem.)'	caati [sa:ði] 'caste' (See kymogram 33).
Alveolar	acin [da:sin] 'dozen'	meecan [me:sən] 'mason'
Retroflex	kucan [ku:ʂən] 'cushion'	Reecan [re:ʂən] 'ration'
Velar	cikareṭ [siha:ret] 'cigarette'	turookam [tu:ro:ɸəm] 'treachery'

Initial F System $\frac{F}{3}$

3.11.21 The F system operative initially in native forms consists of only one term.

Native $\frac{F}{1}$

Alveolar cate [sa:ðe] 'flesh'

See kymogram 50.

The F system operative initially in marginal forms consists of three terms.

Marginal $\frac{F}{3}$

Alveolar non-retroflex cuviṅkam [suviṅgəm] 'chewing gum'

Palato-Alveolar	cok [ʃok]	'shock'
Velar	hoon [ho:n]	'horn'

See kymograms 31 , 33 and 55.

Final F System $-\frac{F}{2}$

3.11.22 This system operates finally only in marginal forms. Even in them, only two units, namely, the apical non-retroflex and the palato-alveolar fricative can be stated as operating within the final F system.

	<u>Marginal</u> $-\frac{F}{2}$	
	<u>after short</u>	<u>after long</u>
	<u>vowel</u>	<u>vowel</u>
Alveolar non-retroflex	nooʃ [is 'notice'	kiʃaas [kʃa:s]
Palato-Alveolar	puc [buʃ] 'bush'	'class'

Fricatives in Medial Clusters

3.11.23 There are severe restrictions on the operation of the F system in medial clusters in native and marginal forms. In native forms, only the labial, dental and velar fricatives occur in heterorganic clusters and that too as a second member of the cluster (See table 1.10 on page 103). In such clusters, the first member is always a member of the L system.

3.11.24 In the marginal class, the alveolar non-retroflex fricative occurs quite freely as an initial member of a medial heterorganic cluster. Of the medial heterorganic clusters that have fricatives either as their

first member or as their second member, [ɪβ] and [lβ] are native, [ɪh] , [lh] , [ʃh] and [jð] are common and all the other clusters (See table 1.11 on page 104) are typically marginal.

(a) Native

	<u>after</u> [ɪ]	
Labial	toɽarpu [toɽʌɪβʊt] 'connection'	
	<u>after</u> [j]	
Dental	ceyti [sejði] 'news'	
	<u>after</u> [ɪ]	<u>after</u> [l]
Velar	teerkaɭ [te:ɪhəɭ] 'chariots'	vaalkaɭ [ʋa:lɦəɭ] 'stooges'
	<u>after</u> [ʃ]	
"	kooɭkaɭ [ko:ɭɦəɭ] 'tales of one's punishable activities'	

(b) Marginal

	<u>after</u> [j]	
Dental	maytaanam [mʌjðʌ:nəm] 'esplanade'	
	<u>before</u> [p]	<u>before</u> [t]
Alveolar	paaspooɽ 'passport'	maŋkustaan 'mangosteen'
	<u>before</u> [t]	<u>before</u> [k]
"	pisran [pistʌn] 'piston'	Raaskal 'rascal'
	<u>before</u> [n]	<u>before</u> [l]
"	pisnas 'business'	muslim 'a Mohammedan'
	<u>before</u> [ʋ]	
"	asvini 'name of a constellation'	

	<u>after</u> [p]	<u>after</u> [k]
Alveolar	kapcaa [kapsa:] 'lie'	raakci [ta:ksi] 'taxi'
	<u>after</u> [m]	<u>after</u> [n]
"	camcaaram [samsa:fəm] 'wife'	incuurans [insu:rʌns] 'insurance'
	<u>after</u> [r]	<u>after</u> [l]
Velar	vayarka [ʋʌjʌrhə] 'wires'	Reyülka [rejilhə] 'trains'
	<u>after</u> [j]	
"	vaykaaci [ʋʌjha:si] 'the month of May'	

CONTINUANT SET

3.11.25 A maximum of two C-units distinguished from each other as labial and dorsal constitutes the continuant or Z^{14} system.

Intervocally $-\frac{Z}{2}-$ Native $-\frac{Z}{2}-$

	<u>after short vowel</u>	<u>after long vowel</u>
Labial	kevar 'forked stick'	aavi 'steam'
Dorsal	ayar [ʌjəl] 'scab'	taayam [ta:jəm] 'a kind of game'

Marginal $-\frac{Z}{2}-$

	<u>after short vowel</u>	<u>after long vowel</u>
Labial	kuvilR 'quilt'	caavi 'key'

14. See footnote 9 on page 224.

Dorsal	<u>after short vowel</u>	<u>after long vowel</u>
Dorsal	mayik [mʌjik] 'microphone'	laayam [la:jəm] 'stable'

Initial Z System $\frac{Z-}{2}$

3.11.26 The Z system as operating initially in native and marginal forms consists of two terms.

Native $\frac{Z-}{2}$

Labial	vaRume	'poverty'
Dorsal	yaa [ja:]	'an expectant mother's craving for delicious food'

3.11.27 It should be stressed here that the operation of dorsal C-unit initially in native forms is limited to two instances (See table 1.6 and 1.21.2) whereas numerous forms could be attested for its occurrence initially in marginal forms.

Marginal $\frac{Z-}{2}$

Labial	viRaattu	'broth'
Dorsal	yannal [jan:əl]	'window'

Final Z System $-\frac{Z}{2}$

3.11.28 With regard to the operation of the Z system in the final place in the structure, there is restriction as the forms attested below reveal.

Native $-\frac{Z}{1}$ after short vowelafter long vowel

Dorsal mey [mej] 'truth' -

Marginal $-\frac{Z}{2}$ after short vowelafter long vowel

Labial -

ceev [e:ʊ] 'shave'

Dorsal ney [nej] 'ghee'

Medial \bar{Z} System $-\frac{\bar{Z}}{2}$ Native $-\frac{\bar{Z}}{2}$ after short vowelafter long vowel

Labial vavvaal 'bat' -

Dorsal tayyal [tʰj:əl] 'stitch' -

Marginal $-\frac{\bar{Z}}{2}$ after short vowelafter long vowel

Labial levve 'a Mohammedan priest' -

Dorsal koyyaa [koj:a:] 'name of a tree'

CHAPTER 4

4. STEM STRUCTURES

4.0 In the chapter on Nominal Classification and Categories, reference has been made to the stem (See 2.1.2) which is a morphological abstraction made for all nominal forms analysed in this thesis. The stem is, in most instances, the constant element in the formal scatter of a nominal. In this chapter, generalized stem structures necessary for handling nominal forms in Jaffna Tamil are set up. The grades of vowel and quantity patterns statable for the stem syllable are also discussed.

4.1 Native and Marginal Stems

4.1.1 A polysystemic approach to the description of the nominal forms of Jaffna Tamil like the present one, must take into account two different types of stem structures, namely, native and marginal. Native stems, as the name implies, cannot be said to have been borrowed from any other language. For most of them, cognates could be found in other Dravidian languages like Malayalam, Canarese, etc. Marginal stems are those that have corresponding forms in Indo-Aryan and Indo-European languages. Systems of prosodic and / or phonematic units differing from those set up for native stems have to be set up for some of the marginal stems by the phonologist.

The nominal forms taken up for analysis in this work amount to about 2170 and in them the proportion between native and marginal forms is found to be in the ratio of 825 : 1345.

4.1.2 Stem structures can be identified in terms of the number of syllables in stems and also in terms of the nature of the stem final syllable, whether open or closed.

4.2 Simple and Complex Stems

4.2.1 Before entering into a classification of nominal stems in terms of the number of constituent syllables, it must be stated that the nominal stems in Jaffna Tamil may be either simple or complex. Those stems which cannot be further analysed morphologically into simpler constituents are called simple stems. In other words, a nominal stem which consists entirely of a single nominal root can be styled a simple stem.

e.g. ayal 'neighbourhood', urime 'right of ownership'
 elumpu 'bone', cikareṭ 'cigarette'
 aluppaanti 'place name', nottaaricu 'notary'
 appootikkari 'apothecary'

4.3 Complex Stems

4.3.1 Some of the nominal stems contain more morphological elements than a root and so are complex in their structure. Complexity of nominal stems may be of the

following different types:

- (a) Most of the very common native and marginal forms consist of a nominal root plus gender and number suffix.

e.g. vicar-an 'a mad man' , vicari 'a mad woman'
luuc-an " " "

- (b) Verbal root + nominalizing suffix.

e.g. came-y-al 'cooking' , ceer-mati 'relation'
poor-ve 'blanket'

- (c) Adnominal participle + gender and number suffix.

e.g. (cuRu[[†]u-c-) cuttuRa-v-an 'cigar roller (mas.)'
eemaattuRa-v-an 'cheat (mas.)'
(poy) colluRa-v-an 'lier (mas.)'

- (d) Verbal root + gender and number suffix.

e.g. koll-an 'blacksmith' , ka[_l-i 'thief (fem.)'

- (e) Certain reduplicative and onomatopoeic types of verbal root + nominalizing suffix.

e.g. cuRucuRu-p-pu 'state of being energetic'
kilukilu-p-pe 'rattle' , patepate-p-pu 'trepidation'

- (f) Nominal root + abstract noun suffix.

e.g. ma[[†]e-t-tanam 'foolishness'
ke[[†]i-t-tanam 'cleverness'

- (g) A few of the nominal forms especially of the marginal class are found with a prefix before the nominal root.

All the nominal roots that take prefixes contain at least two syllables.

e.g. tiru-v-arul 'god's grace'
 a-yookkiyam 'dishonesty'

Different types of nominal stems can be stated after such prefixes.

e.g. tiru-niiRu 'holy ash'
 tiru-p-paṇi 'service to temple'
 tiru-mantiram 'name of a religious work'
 ava-cakunam 'bad omen'
 ava-maanam 'dishonour'
 ava-laccanam 'that which is ugly'

(h) Prefix + nominal root + abstract nominal suffix.

e.g. a-yookkiya-t-tanam 'dishonesty'

4.3.2 Because of the simple and complex structure of stems, the specifying of the number of constituent syllables in a polysyllabic nominal will carry weight only if such a specification is followed by a statement as to whether the stem is complex or not and if complex, wherein it is complex. It has already been shown (See table 3.1 on pages 161-63) that the number of constituent syllables in the nominals in Jaffna Tamil may range from one to thirteen syllables. It should be mentioned here that, in the native class, the sequence of syllables

in simple stems taking inflectional endings range from two to nine syllables while those in complex stems range from two to twelve syllables (See below tables 4.1 and 4.2). In the marginal class, the sequence of syllables in simple stems taking inflectional endings range from two to ten syllables while those in complex stems range from two to thirteen syllables (See below tables 4.3 and 4.4).

Native

Simple Stem

Num. of Syla.			Example	Gloss
in the				
Nom.Fm. Rt. Ss.				
2	1	1	puukka]	'flowers'
3	1	2	puukka]e	'flowers (acc.)'
4	1	3	puukka]ile	'flowers (loc.)'
5	3	2	ka]avu]ukku	'god (dat.)'
6	1	5	maavileyiruntu	'flour (abl.)'
7	2	5	muu]leyileyiruntu	'egg (abl.)'
8	3	5	caṅkaaneyileyiruntu	'place name (abl.)'
9	4	5	miricuvilileyiruntu	" " "

TABLE 4.1

Complex Stem

Num. of Syls. in the					Example	Gloss
Nom.	Fm.	Pf.	Rt.	N.S. Or.Ss.		
2		1	1		kaaval	'watch'
3		2	1		maRiyal	'imprisonment'
4		1	1	2	kaavalkkaaran	'watcher (mas.)'
5		2	1	2	e [†] uppukkaari	'showy woman'
6	2	2		2	tiruvi [†] aakkaaran	'one conducting a temple festival (mas.)'
7	2	2		3	tiruvi [†] aakkaaraṅka [†]	'those conducting a temple festival'
8		2	1	5	maRiyalkkaaraṅka [†] i [†] te	'prisoners (mas. loc.)'
9		2		7	kaacukkaariyi [†] t [†] eyiruntu	'wealthy woman (abl.)'
10		4		6	cutumaleyaani [†] t [†] eyiruntu	'a man residing at Cutumale (abl.)'
11		3		8	kokkuvilaa [†] aveyi [†] t [†] eyiruntu	'women residing at Kokkuvil (abl.)'
12	2	2		8	tiruvi [†] aakkaaraṅka [†] i [†] t [†] eyiruntu	'those conducting a temple festival (abl.)'

TABLE 4.2

Marginal
Simple Stem

Num. of Syls. in the			Example	Gloss
Nom.	Fm.	Rt. Ss.		
2	1	1	kaane	'drain (acc.)'
3	1	2	kaanile	'drain (loc.)'
4	2	2	Riccoovaale	'rickshaw (ins.)'
5	3	2	aavaṇiyooṭe	'the month of August (soc.)'
6	4	2	kaṭutaacikaḷe	'papers (acc.)'
7	2	5	Riccoovileyiruntu	'rickshaw (abl.)'
8	3	5	aavaṇiyileyiruntu	'the month of August (abl.)'
9	4	5	puraṭṭaacyileyiruntu	'the month of September (abl.)'
10	5	5	piRakkiRaacyiṭṭeyiruntu	'proctor (abl.)'

TABLE 4.3

Complex Stem

Num. of Syls. in the				Example
Nom.	Fm.	Pf.	Rt. Ss.	
2		1	1	luucan 'a mad man'
3		1	2	pamkaaran 'owner of a pump (mas.)'

Num. of Syls. in the Nom.Fm. Pf. Rt. Ss.				Example	Gloss
4	2	2		peepparkkaaran	'newspaper seller'
5	2	3		raakcikkaaranka]	'taxi drivers'
6	3	3		s[<u>u</u>][i]yookkaaranka]	'owners of studios'
7	1	3	3	akkiramakkaaranka]	'wrong doers (mas.)'
8	5	3		uvattiravakkaarika]	'troublesome women'
9	4	5		anupavacaalika][i][t]te	'experienced persons (loc.)'
10	2	8		raakcikkaaranka][i][t]teyiruntu	'taxi drivers (abl.)'
11	4	7		[<u>t</u> ayinamookkaarani][t]teyiruntu	'owner of dynamo (abl.)'
12	5	7		uvattiravakkaarani][t]teyiruntu	'troublesome person (mas. abl.)'
13	5	8		uvattiravakkaaranka][i][t]teyiruntu	'troublesome persons (abl.)'

TABLE 4.4

4.4

C Final versus Non-C final

4.4.1 The second criterion for classifying stems is the nature of the stem final syllable, whether it is open or closed. On the basis of the dichotomy of open or closed stem final syllables, stems can be classified as C-final

and non-C final. The initial syllables of stems are either C initial or non-C initial. As the difference in the vocalic or consonantal articulations at the commencement of these syllables is only a feature of lexical identification of nominal forms, it does not appear to have any noteworthy structural significance. But on the other hand, the classification of stems into C final and non-C final facilitates the stating of the different types of interrelation between stems and suffixes.

4.5 C Final Stems

4.5.1 Taking into account certain prosodic features of interrelations between stems and suffixes, C final stems can be further classified as: (a) constant C final (b) constant CC final and (c) variable C final stems. In some stems, only a simple C occurs as the final element throughout the formal scatter. This constant final element will be symbolically represented by C . In some stems of the marginal class only a complex CC is found as the final element throughout the formal scatter. This constant complex element will be symbolised as CC . Apart from these two types of constant element, a third type showing various types of alternation of forms ending in V or C or \bar{C} or NC is identified in the C final stems of some nominals. This third type of variable C final stem will be represented by the

symbol C_x .

4.6

Non-C final Stems

4.6.1 The stem final syllables of non-C final stems are either Y-prosodic or W-prosodic or O-prosodic.

4.6.2 The generalized stem structures necessary to handle the nominal are illustrated with examples for all the different types of stem described above.

4.7

A. C FINAL STEMS

(1) C Final Stems

Native

4.7.1 (i) When taking a vocalic sociative case suffix.

$\bar{V}C$ aa[-oo]e 'person (soc.)'

$C\bar{V}C$ miin-oo]e 'fish (soc.)'

$VCVC$ aṇil-oo]e 'squirrel (soc.)'

$\bar{V}CVC$ aaval-oo]e 'eagerness (soc.)'

$V\bar{C}VC$ eccil-oo]e 'saliva (soc.)'

$\bar{V}NCVC$ uupcal-oo e 'swing (soc.)'

$V\bar{C}\bar{V}C$ ammaan-oo]e 'maternal uncle (soc.)'

$CVCVC$ ka]an-oo]e 'debt (soc.)'

$C\bar{V}CVC$ kaaval-oo]e 'watch (soc.)'

CV̄CVC	pinnal-ooṭe	'rattoning (soc.)'
CVNCVC	cunṭal-ooṭe	'spiced gram (soc.)'
C̄VNCVC	tuunṭil-ooṭe	'(fishing) hook (soc.)'
C̄V̄CVC	meeccal-ooṭe	'roofing (soc.)'
VCVCVC	aluval-ooṭe	'business (soc.)'
CVCVCVC	maRiyal-ooṭe	'imprisonment (soc.)'
VCV̄CVC	ericcal-ooṭe	'jealousy (soc.)'
VCVNCVC	anuṅkal-ooṭe	'groan (soc.)'
CVCVC̄CVC	kareyaan-ooṭe	'man of the fisherman's caste (soc.)'
C̄VVCVCVC	kooviyān-ooṭe	'man of the corpse carrying caste (soc.)'
C̄V̄CVCVC	keeṭṭavan-ooṭe	'he who asked (soc.)'
CV̄CVCVC	kokkuvil-ooṭe	'place name (soc.)'
CVCVC̄CVC	paḷuttal-ooṭe	'sear (soc.)'
C̄VNC̄VVCVC	koonṭaavil-ooṭe	'place name (soc.)'
CVCVCVCVCVC	miricuvil-ooṭe	" " "
CV̄CVCVCVCVC	kottuRavan-ooṭe	'he who cuts (soc.)'
CVCVC̄VVCVCVC	paṭikkīRavan-ooṭe	'he who is studying (soc.)'
C̄V̄CVCVCVCVCVC	caappiṭuRavan-ooṭe	'he who is eating (soc.)'
CVNCVCVCVCVC	cinṅkaḷavan-ooṭe	'Sinhalese man (soc.)'

4.7.2 (ii) When taking a vocalic gender suffix.

CVC	pa]-]-an	'a low caste man'
CVCVC	vicar-an	'a mad man'
"	vicar-i	'a mad woman'
VCVCVC	aRutal-an	'widower'
"	aRutal-i	'widow'
CVNCVC	kaṇcal-an	'a worthless man'
"	kaṇcal-i	" " woman'
CVCVC	kaatal-an	'lover (mas.)'
"	kaatal-i	" (fem.)'

4.7.3 (iii) When taking a nasal animate (+ hum.) plural suffix.

CVNCVC	penṭil-maar	'wives'
CVCVCVC	tameyan-maar	'elder brothers'

4.7.4 (iv) When taking a plosive animate (+ hum.) suffix.

VC	uur-k-kaar-an	'man of the village'
CVC	miin-kaar-an	'fish seller (mas.)'
CVCVC	kaṭan-kaar-an	'creditor (mas.)'
CVCVC	kaaval-k-kaar-an	'watchman'
CVVC	pinnal-k-kaar-an	'he who rattons chair, etc.'
CVNCVC	cunṭal-k-kaar-an	'spiced gram seller (mas.)'
CVCNCVC	tuunṭil-k-kaar-an	'man with the fishing rod'

CVCVCVC	maRiyal-k-kaar-an	'prisoner (mas.)'
VCVCVC	ericcal-k-kaar-an	'jealous man'

4.7.5 (v) When taking a plosive plural suffix.

VC	uur-ka]	'villages'
CVC	veer-ka]	'roots'
VCVC	aṇil-ka]	'squirrels'
VCVC	uumal-ka]	'dried palmyra seeds'
VNCVC	uupcal-ka]	'swings'
CVCVC	ka]an-ka]	'debts'
CVCVC	vaa]al-ka]	'those that are withered'
CVVC	pinnal-ka]	'those that are braided'
CVNCVC	van]il-ka]	'carts'
CVNCVC	tuun]il-ka]	'fishing rods or hooks'
CVCVCVC	poriyal-ka]	'fried items of food'
CVCVCVC	pa]uttal-ka]	'sear'
VVCVC	a]ṭiyal-ka]	'necklaces'
CVCVCVC	civiyaan-ka]	'members of the palanquin bearer's caste (mas.)'
CVNCVCVCVC	cin]ka]avan-ka]	'Sinhalese men'
CVVCVCVCVC	kottuRavan-ka]	'those who cut (mas.)'

CVCV̄CVCVCVC

paṭikkiRavan-kaḷ 'they who study (mas.)'

CṪCVCVCVCVC

caappiṭuRavan-kaḷ 'they who eat (mas.)'

4.8

Marginal

4.8.1 (1) When taking a vocalic sociative suffix.

CṪC

Riil-ooṭe 'reel (soc.)'

VCVC

ayis-ooṭe 'ice (soc.)'

VCṪC

ucaar-ooṭe 'joviality (soc.)'

ṪCVC

aayuḷ-ooṭe 'life span (soc.)'

ṪCṪC

aamaar-ooṭe 'hammer (soc.)'

VṪCVC

appiḷ-ooṭe 'apple (soc.)'

VNCVC

eṇcin-ooṭe 'engine (soc.)'

ṪCVC

eekkar-ooṭe 'acre (soc.)'

CVCVC

mecin-ooṭe 'machine (soc.)'

CṪCVC

piillis-ooṭe 'saucer (soc.)'

CVCṪC

paluun-ooṭe 'balloon (soc.)'

CṪCṪC

caamaan-ooṭe 'article (soc.)'

CVṪCVC

yannal-ooṭe 'window (soc.)'

CVNCVC

peṇcan-ooṭe 'pension (soc.)'

CVCCVC

pisran-ooṭe 'piston (soc.)'

CṪNCVC

laantar-ooṭe 'lantern (soc.)'

CṪCCVC

maasrar-ooṭe 'master (soc.)'

CṪCVC

kuuppan-ooṭe 'coupon (soc.)'

CCṪCVC

sṭeecan-ooṭe 'station (soc.)'

CVNCCVC	konRool-ooṭe	[konḍro:lo:tə]	'control(soc.)'
CVVC	nattaar-ooṭe		'Christmas (soc.)'
CVNCVC	piinḱaan-ooṭe		'plate (soc.)'
VNCVCVC	inḱilis-ooṭe		'English language (soc.)'
VNCVCVC	unṭiyal-ooṭe		'coin box (soc.)'
CVCVCVC	picukkaal-ooṭe		'fiscal (soc.)'
CVVCVC	ṭaakkuttar-ooṭe		'doctor (soc.)'
CVNCVCCVC	maṅkustaan-ooṭe		'mangosteen (soc.)'
CVNCVVC	Rampuṭṭaan-ooṭe		'an edible fruit(soc.)'
VVCVCVC	oovaciyar-ooṭe		'overseer (soc.)'
CVCCVNCVC	cupRiinṭan-ooṭe		'superintendent (soc.)'
VNCVCVCVC	epciniyar-ooṭe		'engineer (soc.)'
CVVCVCVC	cakkaṭattaar-ooṭe		'(municipal) secretary (soc.)'

4.8.2 (ii) When taking a vocalic gender suffix.

CV	luuṭ-an	'a mad man'
CVCVC	kumar-i	'spinster'

4.8.3 (iii) When taking a nasal animate (+hum.) plural suffix.

CV	nees-maar	'nurses'
CVCVC	polis-maar	'police'
CVVC	meecan-maar	'masons'
CVCCVC	Rayvar-maar	'drivers'
CVVC	maccaan-maar	'cousins'

CVCVC	maasrar-maar 'masters'
CVCVC	riiccar-maar 'teacher (fem.)'
CVCVCVC	picukkaal-maar 'fiscals'
CVCVCVC	taakkuttar-maar 'doctors'
CVNCVCCVC	konṭakrar-maar '(bus) conductors'
VCCCVVC	inspeRRar-maar 'inspectors'
VNCVVCVC	epciniyar-maar 'engineers'
VVCVVCVC	oovaciyar-maar 'overseers'
4.8.4 (iv)	When taking a plosive animate (+hum.) suffix.

CVC	vaan-kaar-an 'van driver (mas.)'
VCVC	ayis-kaar-an 'ice vendor (mas.)'
CVCVC	mecin-kaar-an 'owner of a machine'
CVNCVC	peṇcan-kaar-an 'a pensioner (mas.)'
CVCVC	paluun-kaar-an 'balloon seller (mas.)'
CVCVC	caamaan-kaar-an 'owner of an article (mas.)'
CVCVC	mooccaṇ-kaar-an 'jaws harp player (mas.)'
CVVCVC	kakkuus-kaar-an '(lavatory) scavenger (mas.)'
CVCVCVC	cayikkiḷ-k-kaar-an 'bicycle owner (mas.)'
CVNCVCCVC	maṇkustaan-kaar-an 'mangosteen seller (mas.)'
CVNCVVCVC	Rampuṭṭaan-kaar-an 'an edible fruit seller (mas.)'

4.8.5 (v) When taking a plosive inanimate plural suffix.

CVC	riil-ka]	'reels'
CCVC	pi]een-ka] [p]e:ngə]	'aeroplanes'
VVC	appi]-ka]	'apples'
VVC	aamaar-ka]	'hammers'
VVC	oo[t]al-ka]	'hotels'
CVCVC	kalan-ka]	'gallons'
CVCVC	leepal-ka]	'labels'
CVCVC	tavaal-ka]	'letters'
CVVC	pavvar-ka]	'bumper bars'
CVNCVC	nampar-ka]	'numbers'
CVCCVC	pisran-ka]	'pistons'
CVCVC	poottil-ka]	'bottles'
CVCVC	caamaan-ka]	'articles'
CVNCVC	kantoor-ka]	'offices'
CVVC	pottaan-ka]	'buttons'
VCVCCVC	ilekcan-ka]	'elections'
CVCVNCVC	kaleṇ[ar-ka]	'calendars'
CVCVCVC	kaanival-ka]	'carnivals'

4.9

(2) CC Final StemsMarginal

4.9.1 The constant CC final stems are found only in a few nominals of the marginal class. Of these, stems with the second member of the final CC as a plosive and the

first member as any C other than a nasal have C̄ final in their oblique forms.

Nominative Case Form

CVCC	palp	'bulb'
"	pelR	'belt'
"	payp	'pipe'
CV̄CVCC	kommunist	'communist'

Oblique Form

CVCC̄	palpp
"	pelRR
"	paypp
CV̄CVCC̄	kommunistt

4.9.2 (i) When taking a vocalic sociative suffix.

CVCC̄	palpp-oōt̄e	'bulb (soc.)'
"	pelRR-oōt̄e	'belt (soc.)'
"	paypp-oōt̄e	'pipe (soc.)'
CC̄VNC	sraant̄-oōt̄e	'stand (soc.)'
CV̄CVCC̄	kommunistt-oōt̄e	'communist (soc.)'
C̄VCC	taans-oōt̄e	'dance (soc.)'
VCVCC	avuns-oōt̄e	'ounce (soc.)'
CVCVCC	peȳinR-oōt̄e	'paint (soc.)'
C̄VCVCC	ciimenR-oōt̄e	'cement (soc.)'

4.9.3 (ii) When taking a plosive animate (+hum.) gender suffix.

C̄VCC	taans-kaar-i	'dancer (fem.)'
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CVCC payp-kaar-an 'owner of a pipe(mas.)'

CV \bar{C} V \bar{C} CVCC kommuunis \bar{t} -kaar-an 'a communist(mas.)'

4.9.4 (iii) When taking a nasal animate (+hum.) plural
suffix.

CV \bar{C} V \bar{C} CVCC kommuunis \bar{t} -maar 'communists'

4.10 (3) C_x Final Stems

4.10.1 The final C in native stems of the syllabic structure (C)VC alternates in oblique forms with \bar{C} when the suffix initial is vocalic. The final C of such stems is limited to a member of the N system. In the case of marginal forms, there is the same alternation with C final stems of quite different structure as the examples on the following pages make it clear(See 4.10.5). Certain personal pronouns of the syllabic pattern (C) \bar{V} C have an oblique form of the syllabic structure (C)VC. As these C final pronominal stems alternate with \bar{C} when taking a vocalic initial suffix, they are also to be classed with the above set of stems.

4.10.2		<u>Native</u>	
	<u>Nomin.Fm.</u>		<u>Obl.Fm.</u>
CVN	kaŋ 'eye'	CV \bar{C}	kaŋŋ
"	pon 'gold'	"	ponn
"	maŋ 'sand'	"	maŋŋ

CVN	naan	'I'	V \bar{C}	enn
"	taan	'he'	CV \bar{C}	tann

4.10.3 (i) When taking a vocalic sociative suffix.

CVN	kan η -oo \uparrow e	'eye (soc.)'
"	ponn-oo \uparrow e	'gold (soc.)'
"	man η -oo \uparrow e	'sand (soc.)'
VN	enn-oo \uparrow e	'I (soc.)'
CVN	tann-oo \uparrow e	'he (reflexive. soc.)'

4.10.4 (ii) When taking a plosive plural suffix.

VN	en-ka \downarrow	'we (oblique form)'
CVN	tan-ka \downarrow	'they (reflexive)'
"	kan η -ka \downarrow	'eyes'
CVN	naan-ka \downarrow	'we (nominative)'

4.10.5 Marginal

	<u>Nomin.Fm.</u>			<u>Obl.Fm.</u>
CVC	Rim	'rim'	CVC	rimm
"	pas	'bus'	"	pass
"	rin	'tin'	"	rinn
"	mil	'mill'	"	mill
"	cek	'cheque'	"	cekk
"	keek	'cake'	CV \bar{C}	keekk
CCVC	ki \downarrow aak	[k \downarrow a:k]	CCVC	ki \downarrow aakk
	'clerk'			
CVC	vaac	'wrist watch'	CV \bar{C}	vaacc

cV̄C	raaŋ	'tank'	cV̄C	raaŋŋ
CVCVC	cuvic	'switch'	CVCVC̄	cuvicc
cV̄CVC	pooŋin	'boarding'	cV̄CVC̄	pooŋinŋ
CVCV̄C	kaRaac	'garage'	CVCV̄C̄	kaRaacc
cV̄CVC	mooccaŋ	'jaws harp'	cV̄CVC̄	mooccaŋŋ
cv̄C̄V̄C	Rekkooŋ	'record'	cv̄C̄V̄C̄	Rekkooŋŋ
cv̄C̄V̄CVC	mekkaanik	'mechanic'	cv̄C̄V̄CVC̄	mekkaanikk
CVCVCVC	cikareŋ	'cigarette'	CVCVCVC̄	cikareŋŋ
CVCVCVC	ŋominik	'pr.n.(mas.)'	CVCVCVC̄	ŋominikk

4.10.6 (1) When taking a vocalic sociative suffix.

cv̄C̄	Rimm-ooŋe	'rim (soc.)'
"	pass-ooŋe	'bus (soc.)'
"	rinn-ooŋe	'tin (soc.)'
"	mill-ooŋe	'mill (soc.)'
"	cekk-ooŋe	'cheque (soc.)'
cV̄C̄	keekk-ooŋe	'cake (soc.)'
ccV̄C̄	kiŋaakk-ooŋe	'clerk (soc.)'
cV̄C̄	vaacc-ooŋe	'wrist watch (soc.)'
"	raaŋŋ-ooŋe	'tank (soc.)'
CVCVC̄	cuvicc-ooŋe	'switch (soc.)'
CVCVC̄	pooŋinŋ-ooŋe	'boarding (soc.)'
CVCV̄C̄	kaRaacc-ooŋe	'garage (soc.)'
cV̄C̄V̄C̄	mooccaŋŋ-ooŋe	'jaws harp (soc.)'
cv̄C̄V̄C̄	Rekkooŋŋ-ooŋe	'record (soc.)'

CVCVCVC̄	cikare ^t t-oo ^t e	'cigarette (soc.)'
CVCVCVC̄	tominikk-oo ^t e	'proper name (soc.)'
CV [̄] CV [̄] CV [̄]	mekkaanikk-oo ^t e	'mechanic (soc.)'
4.10.7 (ii)	When taking a nasal animate (+hum.) plural suffix.	
CC [̄] VC	ki ^l aak-maar	'clerks'
CV [̄] CV [̄] VC	mekkaanik-maar	'mechanics'
4.10.8 (iii)	When taking a plosive animate (+hum.) gender suffix.	
CVC	pas-kaar-an	'bus driver (mas.)'
"	mil-kaar-an	'mill owner (mas.)'
"	cek-kaar-an	'owner of a cheque (mas.)'
C [̄] VC	vaac-kaar-an	'owner of a wrist watch (mas.)'
C [̄] VCVC	poo ^t iŋ-kaar-an	'boarding master'
CVC [̄] VC	kaRaac-kaar-an	'garage owner'
C [̄] VCVC	mooccaŋ-kaar-an	'jaws harp player (mas.)'
CVCVCVC	cikare ^t -kaar-an	'cigarette smoker (mas.)'
4.10.9 (iv)	When taking a plosive inanimate plural suffix. ¹	
CV [̄]	Rimm-u-ka ^l	'rims'
"	pass-u-ka ^l	'buses'
"	rinn-u-ka ^l	'tins'
"	mill-u-ka ^l	'mills'
"	cekk-u-ka ^l	'cheques'

1. For a discussion of the segment u between stem and plural suffix in these examples, see p.499.

4.10.10 There is a class of nominals of the syllabic structure (C) $\bar{V}C\bar{\Theta}$ or CVCVC $\bar{\Theta}$ or C $\bar{V}C\bar{V}C\bar{\Theta}$ or CVCVC $\bar{V}C\bar{\Theta}$. The final C in these forms constitutes a two-term system. These two terms are \bar{t} and R. The phonetic exponents of this syllabic $\bar{\Theta}$ are of two kinds, depending on whether one is concerned with (1) Nominative singular form, or a plural form, on the one hand, or (2) an oblique case form in the singular. In the case of (1) one has at the phonetic level either [ʃ] or [r] as the last consonant of the stem. This consonant followed by the vowel [u] (or by [u] if the preceding syllable contains a rounded vowel). In the case of (2) one has a geminated voiceless stop, with no following vowel. The stop is [ʃ:] in stems stated as having \bar{t} as the final C unit, and [t:] in stems stated as having R as the final C unit.

4.10.11

Native

	<u>Nomin.</u>		<u>Obl.</u>
$\bar{V}C\bar{\Theta}$	ee \bar{t} u	'manuscript'	ee $\bar{t}t$
"	aaRu	'river'	aatt
C $\bar{V}C\bar{\Theta}$	kaa \bar{t} u	'forest'	kaa $\bar{t}t$
"	koo \bar{t} u	'line'	koo $\bar{t}t$
"	cooRu	'(cooked) rice'	coott
CVCVC $\bar{\Theta}$	kuRa \bar{t} u	'pliers'	kuRa $\bar{t}t$
"	tavi \bar{t} u	'bran'	tavi $\bar{t}t$
"	kiṇaRu	'well'	kiṇatt
C $\bar{V}C\bar{V}C\bar{\Theta}$	caappaa \bar{t} u	'meal'	caappaa $\bar{t}t$

4.10.12 (i) When taking the vocalic sociative suffix.

$\bar{V}C\bar{\Theta}$	ee $\bar{t}t$ -oo \bar{t} e	'manuscript (soc.)'
"	aa $\bar{t}t$ -oo \bar{t} e	'goat (soc.)'

V̄Cə	oott-ootē	'tile (soc.)'
"	aatt-ootē	'river (soc.)'
CVC̄Cə	kaatt-ootē	'forest (soc.)'
"	koott-ootē	'line (soc.)'
"	coott-ootē	'(cooked) rice (soc.)'
"	caatt-ootē	'juice (soc.)'
CVCVC̄Cə	kuRa tt-ootē	'pliers (soc.)'
"	tavi tt-ootē	'bran (soc.)'
"	kinatt-ootē	'well (soc.)'
CVCVC̄Cə	caappaa tt-ootē	'meal (soc.)'

4.10.13 (ii) When taking a plosive animate (+hum.)
suffix.

V̄Cə	aat̥tu-k-kaar-an	'owner of sheep (sg. mas.)'
CVC̄Cə	maat̥tu-k-kaar-an	'owner of cattle (sg. mas.)'
CVCVC̄Cə	kinatt̥tu-k-kaar-an	'owner of well (mas.)'
CVCVC̄Cə	caappaa t̥tu-k-kaar-an	'one taking a meal (mas.)'

4.10.14 (iii) When taking a plosive inanimate
plural suffix.

V̄Cə	aa[t̥u-ka]	'sheep (sg.)'
"	ee[t̥u-ka]	'manuscripts'
"	aaRu-ka]	'rivers'
"	oo[t̥u-ka]	'tiles'
CVC̄Cə	koo[t̥u-ka]	'lines'
"	kaa[t̥u-ka]	'forests'

CVCVCa kinaRu-kaɻ 'wells'

CVCVCa caappaat̪u-kaɻ 'meals'

4.10.15 Marginal

CVCa kooɻu 'legal court' CVC kooɻɻ
 CVCVCa takaɻu 'metal plate' CVCVC takaɻɻ
 CVCVCVCa karuvaaɻu 'dried fish' CVCVCVC karuvaaɻɻ

4.10.16 (i) When taking the vocalic sociative suffix.

CVCa kooɻɻ-ooɻe 'legal court (soc.)'
 CVCVCa takaɻɻ-ooɻe 'metal plate (soc.)'
 CVCVCVCa karuvaaɻɻ-ooɻe 'dried fish (soc.)'

4.10.17 (ii) When taking the plosive inanimate plural suffix.

CVCa kooɻu-kaɻ 'legal courts'
 CVCVCa takaɻu-kaɻ 'metal plates'
 CVCVCVCa karuvaaɻu-kaɻ 'dried fish'

4.10.18 There is another productive class of nominals for which it is appropriate to set up the syllabic ə in stem final position. It will be noted that none of these nominals has the same syllabic structure, in conjunction with a final C having as its two terms ɻ and R, as the examples listed in sections 4.10.11 - 17 (pp. 268-270). In the nominative singular and in all plural forms the phonetic exponents of ə is [w] (or [u] if the preceding syllable contains a rounded vowel). In singular forms in the oblique cases, ə is realised as phonetic zero.

Native

VCa eɻɻu 'sesamum' eɻɻ
 VNCa oɻɻu 'one' oɻɻ

VĊā	iikku 'coconut leaf stalk'	iikk
VNCā	aan̩tu 'year'	aan̩t
CVĊā	kaatu 'ear'	kaat
CVĊā	kuttu 'punch'	kutt
CVNCā	kun̩tu 'ball'	kun̩t
CVCCā	toyvu 'asthma'	toyv
CVĊā	tuukku 'measure'	tuukk
CVNCā	muun̩tu 'three'	muun̩t
CVCCā	vaayvu 'gastric disease'	vaayv
VCVCā	a avu 'measurement'	a av
VCVĊā	iru tu 'darkness'	iru tt
CVCVCā	kamuku 'name of a tree'	kamuk
CVCVĊā	vakuppu 'class'	vakupp
CVCVNCA	ku ampu 'a curry'	ku amp
VCVCCā	iyalpu 'means'	iyalp
CVCVCVĊā	vi ayaa tu 'sports'	vi ayaa tt
CVCVCVCVĊā	puRupuRuppu 'murmuring'	puRupuRupp
VNCVCVĊā	aṅkalaayppu 'greediness'	aṅkalaaypp

4.10.20 (1) When taking a vocalic sociative suffix.

VĊā	e l-oote	'sesamum (soc.)'
VNCā	on̩t-oote	'one (soc.)'
VĊā	iikk-oote	'coconut leaf stalk (soc.)'
VNCā	aan̩t-oote	'year (soc.)'
CVĊā	kaat-oote	'ear (soc.)'

CVĀ	kutt-ooṭe	'punch (soc.)'
CVNCā	kunt-ooṭe	'ball (soc.)'
CVCCā	toyv-ooṭe	'asthma(soc.)' and '(soc.)'
CVĀ	tuukk-ooṭe	'a measure (soc.)'
CVNCā	muunt-ooṭe	'three (soc.)'
CVCCā	vaayv-ooṭe	'gastric disease (soc.)'
VCVCā	aḷav-ooṭe	'measurement (soc.)'
VCVĀ	iruṭṭ-ooṭe	'darkness (soc.)'
CVCVCā	kamuk-ooṭe	'name of a tree (soc.)'
CVCVĀ	vakupp-ooṭe	'class (soc.)'
CVCVNCā	kuḷamp-ooṭe	'a curry (soc.)'
VCVCCā	iyalp-ooṭe	'means (soc.)'
CVCVCVĀ	viḷayaaṭṭ-ooṭe	'sports (soc.)'
VNCVCVĀ	aṅkalaaypp-ooṭe	'greediness (soc.)'
VCVCVCVĀ	aruvarupp-ooṭe	'hate (soc.)'
CVCVCVCVĀ	puRupuRupp-ooṭe	'murmuring (soc.)'

4.10.21 (ii) When taking a vocalic animate (+hum.) gender suffix.

CVNCā	vamp-an	'a trickster (mas.)'
CVĀ	tacc-an	'carpenter (mas.)'
"	tacc-i	'woman of the carpenter's caste'
CVĀ	muukk-an	'man with a prominent nose'
CVCVCā	tarak-an	'a broker (mas.)'

4.10.22 (iii) When taking a plosive animate (+hum.)

gender suffix.

CVCCə	cottu-k-kaar-an 'a wealthy man'
VCVČə	iReppu-k-kaar-an 'he who drains well water'
CVCVČə	tu[akku-k-kaar-an 'he who is under a taboo'
CVCVNČə	ki[an̩ku-k-kaar-i 'yam seller (fem.)'
VČVČə	eemaattu-k-kaar-i 'cheat (fem.)'
CVCVCVČə	vi[ayaa[tu-k-kaar-an 'a trickster (mas.)'
4.10.23 (iv)	When taking a plosive inanimate plural

suffix.

VČə	o[tu-ka]	'patches'
VČə	iikku-ka]	'coconut leaf stalks'
VNČə	aan̩tu-ka]	'years'
CVČə	kuttu-ka]	'punches'
CVNČə	kun̩tu-ka]	'balls'
CVČə	kaatu-ka]	'ears'
CVNČə	kaampu-ka]	'stalks'
CVČə	puu[tu-ka]	'locks'
VCVCə	a[avu-ka]	'measurements'
VCNČə	eRumpu-ka]	'ants'
VCVČə	e[uppu-ka]	'ostensation'
VČVČə	eemaattu-ka]	'cheating'
CVCVCə	kamuku-ka]	'name of a tree (pl.)'
CVCVNČə	vi[impu-ka]	'edges'
CVCVČə	va[akku-ka]	'cases'
CVCVCVČə	vi[ayaa[tu-ka]	'sports'

4.10.24

Marginal

	<u>Nomin. Pl.</u>		<u>Obl. Pl.</u>
VĀ	accu	'axle'	acc
VNCā	ipcu	'inch'	ipc
CVĀ	tiivu	'island'	tiiv
CVĀ	tikku	'direction'	tikk
CVNCā	kampu	'stick'	kamp
CVĀ	caakku	'sack'	caakk
CVNCā	laampu	'lamp'	laamp
VCVCā	aracu	'bo tree'	arac
VCVĀ	aṭaattu	'improper action'	aṭaatt
CVCVCā	cokucu	'comfort'	cokuc
CVCVĀ	cavukku	'whip'	cavukk
CVCVĀ	picaacu	'devil'	picaac
CVCVĀ	kacippu	'liquor brewed unlawfully'	kacipp
V̄CVĀ	aapattu	'danger'	aapatt
VNCVCCā	antastu	'status'	antast
CV̄CVĀ	cappaattu	'shoe'	cappaatt
CV̄CVNCā	cunṇaampu	'lime'	cunṇaamp
CVCV̄NCā	tiRaṇṇku	'bar lock'	tiRaṇṇk
C̄VCVĀ	cooṭippu	'decoration'	cooṭipp
CV̄CVĀ	pallakku	'palanquin'	pallakk
VCVCV̄NCā	alavaaṇṇku	'crow bar'	alavaaṇṇk
V̄CVVCā	uttaravu	'permission'	uttarav

CV̄VCVC̄ə	caccaravu 'trouble' CV̄VCVC̄ caccarav
CVCVC̄VC̄ə	vicukkoottu 'biscuit' CVCVC̄VC̄ vicukkoott
CVNCVCVC̄ə	vaṅkiRooṭṭu 'bankruptcy' CVNCVCVC̄ vaṅkiRooṭṭ
CV̄VC̄VC̄ə	cittaarippu 'suing' CV̄VC̄VC̄ cittaaripp
4.10.25 (1)	When taking a vocalic sociative suffix.
V̄C̄ə	acc-ooṭe 'axle (soc.)'
VNC̄ə	iṅc-ooṭe 'inch (soc.)'
C̄VC̄ə	tiiv-ooṭe 'island (soc.)'
CV̄C̄ə	cekk-ooṭe 'oil press (soc.)'
CVNC̄ə	kamp-ooṭe 'stick (soc.)'
C̄VC̄ə	caakk-ooṭe 'sack (soc.)'
C̄VNC̄ə	laamp-ooṭe 'lamp (soc.)'
VCVC̄ə	arac-ooṭe 'bo tree (soc.)'
VC̄VC̄ə	aṭaatt-ooṭe 'improper action (soc.)'
CVCVC̄ə	cokuc-ooṭe 'comfort (soc.)'
CVC̄VC̄ə	picaac-ooṭe 'devil (soc.)'
CVCVC̄ə	kacipp-ooṭe 'liquor brewed unlawfully(soc.)'
V̄VC̄ə	aapatt-ooṭe 'danger (soc.)'
VNCVCC̄ə	antast-ooṭe 'status (soc.)'
CV̄VC̄ə	cappaatt-ooṭe 'shoe (soc.)'
CVCVNC̄ə	caṭank-ooṭe 'wedding(soc.)'
CV̄C̄VNC̄ə	cunṇaamp-ooṭe 'lime (soc.)'
CVC̄VNC̄ə	tiRaṅk-ooṭe 'bar lock (soc.)'
C̄VC̄VC̄ə	cooṭipp-ooṭe 'decoration (soc.)'

CV̄CV̄Cə	pallakk-oōt̄e	'palanquin (soc.)'
VCVCV̄NCə	alavaank-oōt̄e	'crow bar (soc.)'
V̄CV̄CVCə	uttarav-oōt̄e	'permission(soc.)'
CV̄CV̄CVCə	caccarav-oōt̄e	'trouble (soc.)'
CVCVCV̄C̄Cə	vicukkoott-oōt̄e	'biscuit (soc.)'
CV̄C̄VCVC̄Cə	cittaaripp-oōt̄e	'suing (soc.)'

4.10.26 (ii) When taking a vocalic animate (+hum.) suffix.

CV̄Cə	tiiv-aan	'islander (mas.)'
"	tiiv-aa]	' " (fem.)'
CV̄Cə	vaakk-an	'a squint eyed person (mas.)'

4.10.27 (iii) When taking a plosive animate (+hum.) suffix.

CV̄Cə	cekku-k-kaar-an	'owner of an oil press (mas.)'
CV̄Cə	ciiṭṭu-k-kaar-an	'he who runs a lottery'
VCV̄Cə	aṭaattu-k-kaar-i	'woman of improper action'
CVCVCə	kiṭṭuku-k-kaar-an	'braided coconut leaf seller (mas.)'
CVCVC̄Cə	tuvakku-k-kaar-an	'owner of a gun (mas.)'
CV̄C̄VCVC̄Cə	cittaarippu-k-kaar-an	'he who is suing (someone) (mas.)'

4.10.28 (iv) When taking a plosive inanimate plural suffix.

V̄Cə	accu-ka]	'axles'
VNCə	incu-ka]	'inches'
CV̄Cə	tiivu-ka]	'islands'

CV \bar{C} \bar{a}	tikku-ka] 'directions'
CVNC \bar{a}	kampu-ka] 'sticks'
CV \bar{C} \bar{a}	caakku-ka] 'sacks'
C \bar{V} NC \bar{a}	laampu-ka] 'lamps'
VCVC \bar{a}	aracu-ka] 'bo trees'
VCV \bar{C} \bar{a}	a \bar{t} aattu-ka] 'improper actions'
CVCV \bar{C} \bar{a}	cavukku-ka] 'whips'
CVCVNC \bar{a}	ca \bar{t} aṅku-ka] 'weddings'
CVC \bar{V} C \bar{a}	picaacu-ka] 'devils'
\bar{V} CV \bar{C} \bar{a}	aapattu-ka] 'danger'
CV \bar{C} V \bar{C} \bar{a}	cappaattu-ka] 'shoes'
CVC \bar{V} NC \bar{a}	tiRaṅku-ka] 'bar locks'
C \bar{V} CV \bar{C} \bar{a}	coo \bar{t} ippu-ka] 'decorations'
CV \bar{C} V \bar{C} \bar{a}	pallakku-ka] 'palanquins'
VCVC \bar{V} NC \bar{a}	alavaṅku-ka] 'crow bars'
CV \bar{C} VCVC \bar{a}	caccaravu-ka] 'troubles'
CVCV \bar{C} V \bar{C} \bar{a}	vicukkoottu-ka] 'biscuits'

4.10.29 What now remains to be discussed about C_x final classes of stem is the class of stems which in the nominative singular form end with a bilabial nasal [m]. The set of nominal stems to be considered here excludes stems which end in [m] but which have the syllable structure CVC. These are accounted for in sections 4.10.1 - 9 (pp. 264 - 267).

That is to say that the stems that will be discussed now are disyllabic or longer stems. Stems of this class are stated as having -VM final. V forms a one term system and in all cases has [ə] as its phonetic realization. M is a prosodic unit. Its phonetic exponents are:

- (1) [m] in nominative singular forms.
- (2) [t:] in oblique case singular forms
- (3) [ŋ] in plural forms.

4.10.30

Native

	<u>Nomin.Fm.</u>	<u>Obl.Fm.</u>
VCVM	inam 'relation'	inatt
V̄CVM	iiram 'wetness'	iiratt
V̄C̄VM	enṇam 'idea'	ennatt
V̄C̄VM	ootṭam 'running'	ootṭatt
CVCVM	kamam 'farming'	kamatt
C̄VCVM	neeram 'time'	neeratt
CV̄C̄VM	taṭṭam 'tray'	taṭṭatt
CV̄C̄VM	tootṭam 'garden'	tootṭatt
VCV̄C̄VM	aṭakkam 'obedience'	aṭakkatt
V̄C̄VCVM	ottaḷam 'gentle touch'	ottaḷatt
VCVCVM	uyaram 'height'	uyaratt
V̄C̄VC̄VM	eemaattam 'disappointment'	eemaattatt
VCCV̄C̄VM	aymiccam 'doubt'	aymiccatt
CV̄C̄VCVM	kaṭakam 'an ola basket'	kaṭakatt
V̄C̄VCVM	appaḷam 'pappadam'	appaḷatt

CVNCVCVM	pamparam 'top'	pamparatt
CVCV̄CVM	varuttam 'sickness'	varuttatt
C̄VCCV̄CVM	tiirmaanam 'decision'	tiirmaanatt
CVCVCV̄CVM	varumaanam 'income'	varumaanatt
VCVCV̄CVM	aṭayaaḷam 'mark'	aṭayaaḷatt

4.10.31 (i) When taking a vocalic sociative case suffix.

VCVM	ina-tt-ooṭe	'relation (soc.)'
V̄CVM	iira-tt-ooṭe	'wetness (soc.)'
V̄CVM	enna-tt-ooṭe	'idea (soc.)'
V̄CVM	ootṭa-tt-ooṭe	'running (soc.)'
CVCVM	kama-tt-ooṭe	'farming (soc.)'
C̄VCM	neera-tt-ooṭe	'time (soc.)'
CV̄CVM	taṭṭa-tt-ooṭe	'tray (soc.)'
CV̄CVM	tootṭa-tt-ooṭe	'garden (soc.)'
VCV̄CVM	aṭakka-tt-ooṭe	'obedience (soc.)'
V̄CVCVM	ottaḷa-tt-ooṭe	'gentle touch (soc.)'
VCVCVM	uyara-tt-ooṭe	'height (soc.)'
V̄CVCVM	eemaatta-tt-ooṭe	'disappointment (soc.)'
VCCV̄CVM	aymicca-tt-ooṭe	'doubt (soc.)'
CVCVCVM	kaṭaka-tt-ooṭe	'an ola basket (soc.)'
CVCVCV̄CVM	varutta-tt-ooṭe	'sickness (soc.)'
CVNCVCVM	pampara-tt-ooṭe	'top (soc.)'
C̄VCCV̄CVM	tiirmaana-tt-ooṭe	'decision (soc.)'
CVCVCV̄CVM	varumaana-tt-ooṭe	'income (soc.)'

VCVCVCV ^M	a[ayaa]a-tt-oo[t]e	'mark (soc.)'
4.10.32 (ii)	When taking a vocalic gender suffix.	
CVCV ^M	na[a-v-an	'a man of the toddy tapper's caste'
"	na[a-tt-i	'a woman of the toddy tapper's caste'
4.10.33 (iii)	When taking a plosive animate (± hum.) suffix. ²	
V̄CV ^M	appa-k-kaar-i	'hopper seller (fem.)'
V̄CV ^M	oo[t]a-k-kaar-an	'an athlete (mas.)'
CVCV ^M	kama-k-kaar-an	'farmer (mas.)'
C̄VCV ^M	veeta-k-kaar-an	'Christian (mas.)'
C̄VCV ^M	too[t]a-k-kaar-an	'gardener (mas.)'
V̄CVCV ^M	appa[a-k-kaar-an	'pappadam seller (mas.)'
CVCV̄CV ^M	varutta-k-kaar-i	'a sick woman'
"	varutta-k-kaar-an	'a sick man'
4.10.34 (iv)	When taking a plosive inanimate plural suffix.	
V̄CV ^M	en[am-ka]	'ideas'
V̄CV ^M	eettam-ka]	'steep incline'
CVCV ^M	kamam-ka]	'farms'

2. For a discussion of the junction prosodies involved in these compound nominals, see pp. 399 ff.

CVCVM	neeram-ka]	'times'
CVVCVM	ta]am-ka]	'trays'
CVCVM	too]am-ka]	'gardens'
CVCVCVM	ka]akam-ka]	'ola baskets'
VVCVM	appa]am-ka]	'pappadams'
CVNCVCVM	pamparam-ka]	'tops'
CVCVCVM	varuttam-ka]	'sickness'
CVCVCVM	tiirmaanam-ka]	'decisions'
VCVCVCVM	a]ayaa]am-ka]	'marks'

4.10.35

Marginal

VVCVM	eelam 'auction'	eelatt
VVCVM	iiyam 'lead'	iiyatt
VCCVM	is]am 'desire'	is]att
CVCVM	paṇam 'money'	paṇatt
CVCVM	taaram 'wife'	taaratt
CVVCVM	maccam 'non-vegetar- ian foodan'	maccatt
CVCCVM	ka]am 'difficulty'	ka]att
CVNCVM	con]tam 'relation'	con]tatt
VCCVCVM	aykkiiyam 'intimacy'	aykkiiyatt
VVCVM	aattiram 'hastiness of temper'	aattiratt
VNCVCVM	aan]kilam 'English language'	aan]kilatt

VNCVCVM	aṅkulam	'inch'	aṅkulatt
VCV̄CVM	atiṭṭam	'luck'	atiṭṭatt
V̄CVCVM	oṭṭakam	'camel'	oṭṭakatt
VCVCVM	ulakam	'people of the world'	ulakatt
VCV̄CVM	ulookam	'metal'	ulookatt
V̄CVCVM	aayutam	'weapon'	aayutatt
V̄CVCVM	aataayam	'profit'	aataayatt
CVCVCVM	viratam	'fast'	viratatt
C̄VCVCVM	caatakam	'horoscope'	caatakatt
CVCV̄CVM	paṇikkam	'spittoon'	paṇikkatt
CVC̄VCVM	peṭṭicam	'petition'	peṭṭicatt
CVNCVCVM	campalaṁ	'salary'	campalaṁatt
CV̄CVCVM	pattaayam	'large chest'	pattaayatt
CVCCV̄CVM	maytaanam	'esplanade'	maytaanatt
CVNCV̄CVM	paṇṭaaram	'a Hindu mendicant'	paṇṭaaratt
C̄VCVCVM	paattiram	'utensil'	paattiratt
CVCV̄CVM	vilaacam	'address'	vilaacatt
C̄VCVCVM	kaariyam	'matter'	kaariyatt
C̄VCV̄CVM	yaavaaram	'trade'	yaavaaratt
CVNCVN̄CVM	campan̄tam	'connection'	campan̄tatt
CVNCV̄CVM	vaṅkaaṁ	'Bengal'	vaṅkaaṁatt
CV̄CVCVM	paṭṭaalaṁ	'battalion'	paṭṭaalaṁatt

CVCVC \bar{C} VM	kutarkkam 'fallacious argument'	kutarkkatt
VCVCVCVM	anupavam 'experience'	anupavatt
CVNCVCVM	maṇṭapam 'hall'	maṇṭapatt
VCVC \bar{V} VM	anutaapam 'sympathy'	anutaapatt
VC \bar{V} VCVM	utaaraṇam 'example'	utaaraṇatt
VC \bar{V} C \bar{V} VM	anaacaaram 'improper conduct'	anaacaaratt
\bar{V} CVCVCVM	aacciramam 'hermitage'	aacciramatt
\bar{V} CVC \bar{V} VM	uttiyookam 'job'	uttiyookatt
VC \bar{V} CVCVM	ayookkiyam 'dishonesty'	ayookkiyatt
\bar{V} CVNCVCVM	aaṭamparam 'extravag- ance'	aaṭamparatt
CV \bar{V} C \bar{V} VCVM	naccattiram 'star'	naccattiratt
CVCVCVNVCVM	piracaṇkam 'lecture'	piracaṇkatt
CVCVC \bar{V} VCVM	payittiyam 'madness'	payittiyatt
CVCVNVCVCVM	kaRaṇṭakam 'small metal box'	kaRaṇṭakatt
CV \bar{V} CVC \bar{V} VM	mattiyaanam 'noon'	mattiyaanatt
CVCVC \bar{V} VCVM	piracaaram 'propaganda'	piracaaratt
CVCVCVCVM	tayiriyam 'courage'	tayiriyatt
CVCVC \bar{V} VCVM	cavukkaaram 'soap'	cavukkaaratt
C \bar{V} CV \bar{V} VCVM	caamattiyam 'attaining puberty'	caamattiyatt
CVC \bar{V} VCVM	cineekitam 'friendship'	cineekitatt

CVCVCVCVM	cakootaram 'co-uterine'	cakootaratt
CVCVCVCVM	camaataanam 'peace'	camaataanatt
CVCVCVCVM	caataaraanam 'that which is ordinary'	caataaraanatt
CVCVCVCVM	maantirikam 'witch- craft'	maanirikatt
CVCVCVCVM	cuvaattiyam 'sanitation ion'	cuvaattiyatt
VCVCVCVCVM	aluminiyam 'aluminium'	aluminiyatt
VCVCVCVCVM	uvattiravam 'that which is a pest'	uvattiravatt
VCVCVCVCVM	avalaccanam 'that which is ugly'	avalaccanatt
VCVCVCVCVM	anukkirakam 'grace'	anukkirakatt
VVCVCVCVM	anniyoonniyam 'intim- acy'	anniyoonniyatt
VCVCVCVCVM	uruttiraaccam 'rosary bead'	uruttiraaccatt
CVCVCVCVCVM	pirayoocanam 'use'	pirayoocanatt
CVCVCVCVCVM	campiRutaayam 'conve- ntion'	campiRutaayatt

4.10.36 (1) When taking a vocalic sociative suffix.

VcVM	eela-tt-oo e 'auction (soc.)'
VcVM	iyya-tt-oo e 'lead (soc.)'
VCCVM	is ta-tt-oo e 'desire (soc.)'
CVCVM	paṇa-tt-oo e 'money (soc.)'
CVCVM	taara-tt-oo e 'wife (soc.)'

CV \bar{C} VM	macca-tt-oo \bar{t} e	'non-vegetarian food (soc.)'
CVCCVM	ka \bar{s} a-tt-oo \bar{t} e	'difficulty (soc.)'
CVNCVM	co \bar{n} ta-tt-oo \bar{t} e	'relation (soc.)'
VC \bar{C} VCVM	aykkiya-tt-oo \bar{t} e	'intimacy (soc.)'
V \bar{C} VCVM	aattira-tt-oo \bar{t} e	'hastiness of temper (soc.)'
VNCVCVM	aan \bar{k} ila-tt-oo \bar{t} e	'English language (soc.)'
VNCVCVM	an \bar{k} ula-tt-oo \bar{t} e	'inch (soc.)'
VCV \bar{C} VM	ati \bar{t} a-tt-oo \bar{t} e	'luck (soc.)'
V \bar{C} VCVM	o \bar{t} taka-tt-oo \bar{t} e	'camel (soc.)'
VCVCVM	ulaka-tt-oo \bar{t} e	'people of the world (soc.)'
VC \bar{V} VM	ulooka-tt-oo \bar{t} e	'metal (soc.)'
V \bar{C} VCVM	aayuta-tt-oo \bar{t} e	'weapon (soc.)'
V \bar{C} V \bar{C} VM	aataaya-tt-oo \bar{t} e	'profit (soc.)'
CVCVCVM	virata-tt-oo \bar{t} e	'fast (soc.)'
C \bar{V} CVCVM	caataka-tt-oo \bar{t} e	'horoscope (soc.)'
CVCV \bar{C} VM	pa \bar{n} ikka-tt-oo \bar{t} e	'spittoon (soc.)'
CV \bar{C} VCVM	pe \bar{t} tica-tt-oo \bar{t} e	'petition (soc.)'
CVNCVCVM	cam \bar{p} a \bar{l} a-tt-oo \bar{t} e	'salary (soc.)'
CV \bar{C} V \bar{C} VM	pattaaya-tt-oo \bar{t} e	'large (soc.)'
CVCC \bar{V} VM	maytaana-tt-oo \bar{t} e	'esplanade (soc.)'
CVNC \bar{V} VM	pa \bar{n} \bar{t} aara-tt-oo \bar{t} e	'a Hindu mendicant (soc.)'
C \bar{V} \bar{C} VCVM	paattira-tt-oo \bar{t} e	'utensil (soc.)'
CVC \bar{V} VM	vilaaca-tt-oo \bar{t} e	'address (soc.)'
C \bar{V} CVCVM	kaariya-tt-oo \bar{t} e	'matter (soc.)'

CVCVCVM	yaavaara-tt-ooṭe	'trade (soc.)'
CVNCVNCVM	campanta-tt-ooṭe	'connection (soc.)'
CVNCVCVM	vaṅkaaḷa-tt-ooṭe	'Bengal (soc.)'
CVCVCVM	paṭṭaaḷa-tt-ooṭe	'battalion (soc.)'
CVCVCVCVM	kutarkka-tt-ooṭe	'fallacious argument(soc.)'
VVCVCVM	anupava-tt-ooṭe	'experience (soc.)'
CVNCVVCVM	maṇṭapa-tt-ooṭe	'hall (soc.)'
VVCVCVM	anutaava-tt-ooṭe	'sympathy (soc.)'
VVCVCVM	utaaraṇa-tt-ooṭe	'example (soc.)'
VVCVCVM	anaacaara-tt-ooṭe	'improper conduct (soc.)'
VVCVCVM	aaccirama-tt-ooṭe	'hermitage (soc.)'
VVCVCVM	uttiyooka-tt-ooṭe	'job (soc.)'
VVCVCVM	ayookkiya-tt-ooṭe	'dishonesty (soc.)'
VVCNCVVCVM	aaṭampara-tt-ooṭe	'extravagance (soc.)'
CVCVCVCVM	naccattira-tt-ooṭe	'star (soc.)'
CVCVCVNCVM	piracaṅka-tt-ooṭe	'lecture (soc.)'
CVCVCVCVM	payittiya-tt-ooṭe	'madness (soc.)'
CVCVNCVVCVM	kaRaṇṭaka-tt-ooṭe	'small metal box (soc.)'
CVCVCVCVM	mattiyaana-tt-ooṭe	'noon (soc.)'
CVCVCVCVM	piracaara-tt-ooṭe	'propaganda (soc.)'
CVCVCVCVM	tayiriya-tt-ooṭe	'courage (soc.)'
CVCVCVCVM	cavukkaara-tt-ooṭe	'soap (soc.)'
CVCVCVCVM	caamattiya-tt-ooṭe	'attaining puberty(soc.)'
CVCVCVCVM	cineekita-tt-ooṭe	'friendship (soc.)'

CVC \bar{V} CVCV ^M	cakootara-tt-oo \bar{t} e	'co-uterine (soc.)'
CVC \bar{V} C \bar{V} CV ^M	camaataana-tt-oo \bar{t} e	'peace (soc.)'
C \bar{V} NCVCVCV ^M	maantirika-tt-oo \bar{t} e	'witchcraft (soc.)'
CVC \bar{V} C \bar{V} CV ^M	cuvaattiya-tt-oo \bar{t} e	'sanitation (soc.)'
VCVCVCVCV ^M	aluminiya-tt-oo \bar{t} e	'aluminium (soc.)'
VCV \bar{C} VCVCV ^M	uvattirava-tt-oo \bar{t} e	'that which is a pest (soc.)'
VCVCV \bar{C} VCV ^M	avalaccana-tt-oo \bar{t} e	'that which is ugly (soc.)'
VCV \bar{C} VCVCV ^M	anukkiraka-tt-oo \bar{t} e	'grace (soc.)'
VCV \bar{C} VC \bar{V} CV ^M	uruttiraacaa-tt-oo \bar{t} e	'rosary bead (soc.)'
CVCVC \bar{V} CVCV ^M	pirayoocana-tt-oo \bar{t} e	'use (soc.)'
CVNCVCVC \bar{V} CV ^M	campiRutaaya-tt-oo \bar{t} e	'convention (soc.)'

4.10.37 (ii) When taking a vocalic animate (+hum.)

suffix.

C \bar{V} CV ^M	ciina-tt-i	'a Chinese (fem.)'
C \bar{V} CVCV ^M	coonaka-tt-i	'a Moor (fem.)'
CVNCVCV ^M	ciṅka \bar{a} -tt-i	'a Sinhalese (fem.)'
"	ciṅka \bar{a} -v-an	'a Sinhalese (mas.)'
CVC \bar{V} CVCV ^M	piraamaṇa-tt-i	'a Brahmin (soc.)'

4.10.38 (iii) When taking a nasal masculine gender suffix.

C \bar{V} CV ^M	ciina-n	'a Chinese (mas.)'
VCCV ^M	aRpa-n	'a mean person (mas.)'
CVC \bar{V} CVCV ^M	cineekita-n	'friend (mas.)'
"	cakootara-n	'brother'
C \bar{V} CVCV ^M	paataka-n	'a sinner (mas.)'

CVCVCVM coonaka-n 'a Moor (mas.)'

VCVCVCVM ayookkiya-n 'a dishonest man'

4.10.39 (iv) When taking a plosive animate (+hum.) suffix.

CVCVM paṇa-k-kaar-an 'a wealthy man'

CVCVM veeta-k-kaar-i 'a christian (fem.)'

VVCVM aattira-k-kaar-i 'woman of hastiness of temper'

VCVCVM pattiya-k-kaar-an 'a man on a prescribed diet'

CVVCVM macca-k-kaar-an 'a non-vegetarian (mas.)'

CVNCVCVM campaḷa-kaar-an 'an earning man'

CVCVCVCVM payittiya-k-kaar-an 'a mad man'

CVCVCVM caattira-k-kaar-an 'an astrologer (mas.)'

CVCVCVM kaariya-k-kaar-an 'a man of business'

VVCVCVM akkirma-k-kaar-an 'a man of unjust actions'

VVCVCVCVM uttiyooka-kaar-an 'a person in employment (mas.)'

VCVCVCVCVM uvattirava-k-kaar-an 'a pest (mas.)'

4.10.40 (v) When taking a fricative animate (+hum.) suffix.

VCVCVM atiṭṭa-caali 'a lucky person'

VCVCVCVM anupava-caali 'an experienced person'

CVCVCVCVM tayiriya-caali 'a courageous person'

4.10.41 (vi) When taking a plosive inanimate plural suffix.

CVCCVM kaṣṭam-kaḷ 'difficulties'

CVNCVM paṇṭam-kaḷ 'torches'

VVCVM oṭṭakam-kaḷ 'camels'

VCVCVM ulookam-kaḷ 'metals'

VCVCVM	aayutam-ka]	'weapons'
CVCVCVM	viratam-ka]	'fast'
CVCVCVM	caatakam-ka]	'horoscopes'
CVCVCVM	pe[icam-ka]	'petitions'
CVNCVCVM	campalam-ka]	'salaries'
CVCVCVM	panikkam-ka]	'spittoons'
CVCVCVM	pattaayam-ka]	'large chests'
CVNCVCVM	kan[anam-ka]	'polemic writings'
CVCVCVM	paattiram-ka]	'utensils'
CVCVCVM	vilaacam-ka]	'addresses'
CVCVCVM	kaariyam-ka]	'matters'
CVCVCVM	yaavaaram-ka]	'trade'
CVNCVCVM	campantam-ka]	'connections'
VCVCVCVM	anupavam-ka]	'experiences'
VCVCVCVM	utaaranam-ka]	'examples'
CVCVCVCVM	naccattiram-ka]	'stars'
CVCVCVCVM	kaRa[akam-ka]	'small metal boxes'
CVCVCVCVM	cavukkaaram-ka]	'cakes of soap'
VCVCVCVCVM	uvattiravam-ka]	'those which are a pest'
CVNCVCVCVCVM	campiRutaayam-ka]	'conventions'
CVCVCVCVM	piracan[kam-ka]	'lectures'

4.11

B. NON-C FINAL STEMS(a) Y-Prosodic StemsNative

4.11.1 (1) When taking a vocalic sociative case suffix.

\bar{V}	ii-y-ooṭe	'bee (soc.)'
$C\bar{V}$	pīi-y-ooṭe	'faeces (soc.)'
VCV	ile-y-ooṭe	'leaf (soc.)'
"	eli-y-ooṭe	'rat (soc.)'
$VNCV$	inci-y-ooṭe	'ginger (soc.)'
$\bar{V}CV$	uume-y-ooṭe	'dumbness (soc.)'
$V\bar{C}V$	uḷḷi-y-ooṭe	'garlic (soc.)'
$V\bar{C}V$	aacci-y-ooṭe	'grandmother (soc.)'
$\bar{V}CCV$	aaṭci-y-ooṭe	'rule (soc.)'
$\bar{V}NCV$	aanṭi-y-ooṭe	'a pauper (soc.)'
$CVCV$	kaṛi-y-ooṭe	'curry (soc.)'
$C\bar{V}CV$	kaanṭi-y-ooṭe	'land (soc.)'
$CV\bar{C}V$	kuṭṭi-y-ooṭe	'young of animals (soc.)'
$CVNCV$	panṭi-y-ooṭe	'pig (soc.)'
$CVCCV$	kalvi-y-ooṭe	'education (soc.)'
$CV\bar{C}V$	cuutte-y-ooṭe	'that which is defiled (soc.)'
$VCVCV$	uṛuti-y-ooṭe	'legal deed (soc.)'
$VCVCV$	ulakke-y-ooṭe	'pestle (soc.)'
$V\bar{C}V\bar{C}V$	oppaari-y-ooṭe	'lamentation (soc.)'
$VCVNCV$	uṛunṭe-y-ooṭe	'that which is round (soc.)'
$VC\bar{V}\bar{C}V$	aḷaappi-y-ooṭe	'cheat (soc.)'
$CVCVCV$	kuḷavi-y-ooṭe	'wasp (soc.)'
$CVCV\bar{C}V$	kalappe-y-ooṭe	'plough (soc.)'
$CVCVCCV$	muyarci-y-ooṭe	'job (soc.)'

CVCVNCV	kuḷante-y-oote	'child (soc.)'
CV̄CV̄CV	paṭṭiṇi-y-oote	'hunger (soc.)'
C̄VCV̄CV	veelane-y-oote	'place name (soc.)'
C̄VC̄VCV	maataale-y-oote	'pomegranate tree (soc.)'
CV̄C̄VCV	naakkiḷi-y-oote	'a kind of worm (soc.)'
CVNCV̄CV	caṇkaane-y-oote	'place name (soc.)'
CV̄C̄VNCV	muḷḷaṇki-y-oote	'turnip (soc.)'
CVNCV̄C̄V	naṇpikke-y-oote	'hope (soc.)'
V̄CV̄C̄VCV	aṭṭukale-y-oote	'kitchen (soc.)'
CVCVCVCV	viṭṭutale-y-oote	'holiday (soc.)'
V̄CV̄C̄V̄C̄V	uṭṭuppiṭṭi-y-oote	'place name (soc.)'
V̄CVNCV̄C̄V	elumpicce-y-oote	'lime tree (soc.)'
CVCVCV̄C̄V	kiḷinocci-y-oote	'place name (soc.)'
CV̄C̄V̄C̄VCV	tellippale-y-oote	'place name (soc.)'
CVCV̄C̄V̄C̄V	kurukkutti-y-oote	'fungus (soc.)'

4.11.2 (ii) When taking a vocalic animate (+ hum.) gender suffix.

C̄V	pee-y-an	'a fool (mas.)'
"	pee-cc-i	'a fool (fem.)'
V̄CV	uume-y-an	'a dump person (mas.)'
"	uume-cc-i	'a dump woman (fem.)'
CVCV	cuḷi-y-an	'an artful dodger (mas.)'
"	nari-y-an	'a cunning person (mas.)'
"	paRe-y-an	'a man of the tom beater's caste'

CVCV	paRe-cc-i	'a woman of the tom beater's caste'
"	ma ^t e-y-an	'a dunce (mas.)'
"	ma ^t e-cc-i	'a dunce (fem.)'
CV [̄] CV	kuppe-y-an	'a worthless person (mas.)'
"	kuppe-cc-i	'a worthless person (fem.)'
CVN [̄] CV	tanke-cc-i	'younger sister'
VCV [̄] CV	ulakke-y-an	'a man of limited intelligence'
"	ulakke-cc-i	'a woman of limited intelligence'
C [̄] VCV	koovi-y-an	'a man of the corpse carrying caste'
"	koovi-cc-i	'a woman of the corpse carrying caste'
CVCV	civi-y-aan	'a man of the palanquin bearer's caste'
"	civi-y-aa []]	'a woman of the palanquin bearer's caste'
"	kare-y-aan	'a man of the fisherman's caste'
"	kare-y-aa []]	'a woman of the fisherman's caste'
C [̄] VCVCV	veelane-y-aan	'a man residing at Veelane'
"	veelane-y-aa []]	'a woman residing at Veelane'
CVN [̄] C [̄] VCV	caṅkaane-y-aan	'a man residing at Caṅkaane'
"	caṅkaane-y-aa []]	'a woman residing at Caṅkaane'
VCV [̄] C [̄] VCV	u ^t uppi ^t _i -y-aan	'a man residing at u ^t uppi ^t _i '

v̄CV	un̄ṇi-ka]	'ticks on animals'
CVCV	vari-ka]	'lines'
C̄VCV	veeli-ka]	'fences'
C̄V̄CV	puucci-ka]	'insects'
C̄V̄CCV	kee]vi-ka]	'questions'
VCNCV	o]un̄ke-ka]	'lanes'
V̄CV̄CV	ulakke-ka]	'pestles'
CVCVCCV	muyar̄ci-ka]	'jobs'
CVCVN̄CV	ku]umpi-ka]	'tuft of hair (pl.)'
CVCV̄CV	kalappe-ka]	'ploughs'
VCVCV	uRuti-ka]	'legal deeds'
CVCVCV	mutale-ka]	'crocodiles'
V̄V̄CV	oppaari-ka]	'lamentations'
C̄VC̄VCV	maataa]e-ka]	'pomegranate trees'
CV̄CV̄NCV	mu]]an̄ki-ka]	'turnips'
V̄CV̄VCV	a]ukka]e-ka]	'kitchens'
CV̄VCV	pa]]a]e-ka]	'hay barns'
CVCVCVCV	vi]utale-ka]	'holidays'
V̄CV̄NCV̄CV	elumpicce-ka]	'lime trees'
4.11.7 (vii) When taking a plosive animate (+ hum.) plural suffix.		
CVCVCV	tuRavi-ka]	'ascetics'
V̄V̄VCV	iippin̄i-ka]	'misers'
C̄V̄V̄VCV	pookkili-ka]	'mean people'

CVNCVCV kaṇcali-kaḷ 'worthless women'

4.11.8 (viii) When taking a vocalic animate (+ hum.) plural suffix.

CVNCV tampi-ave 'younger brother and others'

V̄CV aṇṇe-ave 'elder brother and others'

C̄VCV maami-ave 'maternal aunt and others'

CVCV rati-ave 'Rati (pr.n.) and others'

CVNCV̄CV taṇkecci-ave 'younger sister and others'

Marginal

4.11.9 (i) When taking a vocalic sociative suffix.

C̄V kii-y-ooṭe 'key (soc.)'

CV pa-y-ooṭe [bəjo:ʔe] 'a north Indian
 merchant (soc.)'

V̄CV aaṇi-y-ooṭe 'nail (soc.)'

VNCV in̄ti-y-ooṭe 'Hindi (soc.)'

VCCV asti-y-ooṭe 'cremated ash (soc.)'

CVCV viti-y-ooṭe 'fate (soc.)'

C̄VCV caami-y-ooṭe 'god (soc.)'

CVCCV cakti-y-ooṭe 'energy (soc.)'

CVNCV can̄ti-y-ooṭe 'junction (soc.)'

CV̄CV latti-y-ooṭe 'horse dung (soc.)'

C̄VCV laacci-y-ooṭe 'drawer (soc.)'

C̄VCCV raakci-y-ooṭe 'taxi (soc.)'

C̄VNCV Reente-y-ooṭe 'embroidery work (soc.)'

VCVCV	avati-y-ooṭe	'haste (soc.)'
VCVCV	anaate-y-ooṭe	'orphan (soc.)'
V̄VCVCV	uumatte-y-ooṭe	'name of a tree (soc.)'
V̄CCVCV	iisvari-y-ooṭe	'proper name (fem. soc.)'
CVCVCV	katire-y-ooṭe	'chair (soc.)'
CVCVCV	paatiri-y-ooṭe	'Christian priest (soc.)'
CVCVCV	vitaane-y-ooṭe	'headman (soc.)'
CVCVCV	kaavaali-y-ooṭe	'rowdy (soc.)'
CVCVCV	kaattike-y-ooṭe	'the month of November (soc.)'
CVCVCV	muttire-y-ooṭe	'stamp (soc.)'
CVCVCV	taṇṭike-y-ooṭe	'palanquin (soc.)'
CVCVCV	kavucci-y-ooṭe	'couch (soc.)'
CVCVCV	camasṭi-y-ooṭe	'federalism (soc.)'
CVCVCV	paRaṅki-y-ooṭe	'a Burgher (soc.)'
V̄VCVCV	aṭṭami-y-ooṭe	'an astrological term (soc.)'
V̄VCVCV	annaaci-y-ooṭe	'pineapple (soc.)'
V̄VCVCV	aalaatti-y-ooṭe	'waving of lights (soc.)'
V̄VCVCV	aacaami-y-ooṭe	'person of shady character (soc.)'
CVCVCV	meestiri-y-ooṭe	'head mason (soc.)'
CVCVCV	viRaante-y-ooṭe	'verandah (soc.)'
CVCVCV	paṭṭaṇi-y-ooṭe	'a kind of gram (soc.)'
CVCVCV	vaykaaci-y-ooṭe	'the month of May (soc.)'
CVCVCV	cappaatti-y-ooṭe	'a kind of cake (soc.)'
CVCVCV	muspaatti-y-ooṭe	'fun (soc.)'

VCCV̄VCV	aaspattiri-y-ooṭe	'hospital (soc.)'
CV̄VCNVCV	kiṭṭaṅki-y-ooṭe	'store (soc.)'
VCVCVCV	anumati-y-ooṭe	'permission (soc.)'
VCVC̄VCV	alumaari-y-ooṭe	'almyrah (soc.)'
CVVC̄VCV	piraccane-y-ooṭe	'problem (soc.)'
CVC̄VCVCV	vicaarane-y-ooṭe	'investigation (soc.)'
CVCVC̄VCV	kaṭṭutaaci-y-ooṭe	'paper (soc.)'
CVCVC̄VCV	puraṭṭaaci-y-ooṭe	'the month of September (soc.)'
CVC̄VCVCV	vinaakkiri-y-ooṭe	'vinegar (soc.)'
V̄CVCVCVCV	appootikkari-y-ooṭe	'apothecary (soc.)'
CVCVC̄VCVCV	piRakkiRaaci-y-ooṭe	'proctor (soc.)'

4.11.10 (ii) When taking a vocalic animate (+ hum.)

gender suffix.

CVNVCV	caṇṭi-y-an	'a ruffian (mas.)'
CVCVNVCV	paRaṇki-cc-i	'a Burgher (fem.)'
CV̄CV	ceṭṭi-cc-i	'a woman of the merchant caste'
C̄VCVCV	ceemaṇe-y-an	'a dunce (mas.)'

4.11.11 (iii) When taking a nasal animate (+ hum.)

plural suffix.

C̄VCV	yuuri-maar	'members of the jury panel'
CV̄CV	ceṭṭi-maar	'members of the merchant caste'
CVC̄V	vaatti-maar	'teachers'
V̄CVCV	aacaari-maar	'carpenters'
C̄VCCVCV	meestiri-maar	'head masons'

CVCVCV	vitaane-maar	'headmen'
CVCVCV	paatiri-maar	'Christian priests'
CVCVCVCV	cakootari-maar	'elder sisters'
CVCVCV	caatiri-maar	'astrologers'
VVCVCVCVCV	appootikkari-maar	'apothecaries'
CVCVCVCVCV	piRakkiRaaci-maar	'proctors'

4.11.12 (iv) When taking a plosive animate (+ hum.) gender suffix.

VVCV	aami-k-kaar-an	'one in military service(mas.)'
CVCV	loRi-k-kaar-an	'lorry driver (mas.)'
CVCV	taaṭi-k-kaar-an	'a bearded man'
CVCVCV	cavaari-k-kaar-an	'one who hires a vehicle (mas.)'
CVCNCV	Raaṅki-k-kaar-i	'an arrogant woman'
CVCV	picce-k-kaar-i	'a beggar (fem.)'
CVCVCV	kuttake-k-kaar-an	'a tenant (mas.)'
CVCVCV	peekkaṇi-k-kaar-an	'owner of a bakery (mas.)'
CVCCCV	loonṛi-k-kaar-an	[lo:ṇḍrik:a:ʃən] 'owner of a laundry'
CVCCVCV	muspaatti-k-kaar-an	'an entertaining man'

4.11.13 (v) When taking a plosive animate (+ hum.) plural suffix.

VCVCV	akati-kaṭ	'refugees'
VVCV	anaate-kaṭ	'orphans'

CVCV	yaari-ka]	'equals'
"	veece-ka]	'prostitutes'
CVCVCV	Ravu [†] i-ka]	'rowdies'
CVCVNCV	paRaṅki-ka]	'Burghers'
CV [†] CV [†]	ce ^{††} i [†] cci-ka]	'women of the merchant caste'
CVCVCV	kaavaali-ka]	'rowdies'
CVCVNCV [†]	paRaṅkicci-ka]	'Burgher women'
CV [†] CV [†]	kaappuli-ka]	'negroes'

4.11.14 (vi) When taking a plosive inanimate plural suffix.

C [†]	kii-ka]	'keys'
V [†] CV	eeni-ka]	'ladders'
CVCV	lo [†] ri-ka]	'lorries'
CVCV	vii [†] i-ka]	'native cigars'
CVCCV	kusti-ka]	'wrestling bouts'
CVNCV	can [†] ti-ka]	'junctions'
CV [†] CV	pe ^{††} i-ka]	'boxes'
CVC [†] CV	taacci-ka]	'frying pans'
CVC [†] CV	raakci-ka]	'taxis'
CVCNCV	Reen [†] te-ka]	'embroidery works'
VC [†] CV	aniiti-ka]	'unjust doings'
CVCVCV	katire-ka]	'chairs'
CVCVCV	cavaari-ka]	'hire (pl.)'
CVCVCV	yocine-ka]	'thoughts'
CVCVCV	Ravukke-ka]	'an item of female's dress'

CVCVCV	muttire-ka]	'stamps'
CVNCVCV	tan̩like-ka]	'palanquins'
CVCVCV	kavucci-ka]	'couches'
CVCVCV	viRaante-ka]	'verandahs'
CVVCVCV	kacceeri-ka]	'musical recitals'
CVVCVCV	cappaatti-ka]	'a kind of cakes'
CVCCVCV	muspaatti-ka]	'fun'
CVVCVCV	ki̩tan̩ki-ka]	'store'
VCCVCVCV	aaspattiri-ka]	'hospitals'
VCVCVCV	alumaari-ka]	'almyrahs'
CVCVCVCV	ka̩utaaci-ka]	'papers'

(b) W-Prosodic StemsNative

4.11.15 (i) Those taking a vocalic sociative suffix.

CV	puu-v-oo̩te	'flower (soc.)'
"	noo-v-oo̩te	'pain (soc.)'
VCV	eru-v-oo̩te	'cow-dung (soc.)'
CVCV	paru-v-oo̩te	'pimple (soc.)'
CVVCV	muttu-v-oo̩te	'Muttu (pr.n. mas. soc.)'
CVVCV	coomu-v-oo̩te	'Coomu (pr.n. mas. soc.)'
CVCVCV	kanaku-v-oo̩te	'Kanakanu (pr.n. mas. soc.)'

4.11.16 (ii) When taking a plosive animate (+ hum.) suffix.

CV	puu-k-kaar-an	'he who plucks flowers'
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VCV	eru-k-kaar-an	'he who buys cow-dung'
4.11.17 (iii)	When taking a plosive inanimate plural suffix.	
C \bar{V}	puu-k-ka]	'flowers'
CVCV	pu]u-k-ka]	'worms'

Marginal

4.11.18 (i) When taking a vocalic sociative suffix.

CCCV	skRu-v-oo]e	'screw (soc.)'
C \bar{V}	coo-v-oo]e	'show (soc.)'
VCV	uru-v-oo]e	'state of being devil, possessed (soc.)'
VNCV	intu-v-oo]e	'Hindu (soc.)'
CVCV	kuru-v-oo]e	'teacher (soc.)'
CVC \bar{V}	pikku-v-oo]e	'a Buddhist monk (soc.)'
C \bar{V} CV	caatu-v-oo]e	'a harmless person (soc.)'
CVC \bar{V}	kiyuu-v-oo]e	'queue (soc.)'
C \bar{V} N \bar{C} \bar{V}	caan]too-v-oo]e	'a man of physical strength (soc.)'
C \bar{V} CVC \bar{V}	Ree]tiyoo-v-oo]e	'radio (soc.)'
CVC \bar{V}	manoo-v-oo]e	'Manoo (pr.n. fem. soc.)'
CVC \bar{V}	Riccoo-v-oo]e	'rickshaw (soc.)'
CVC \bar{C} \bar{V}	telkkoo-v-oo]e	'delco (soc.)'
CVC \bar{V} C \bar{V}	piyaanoo-v-oo]e	'piano (soc.)'
C \bar{V} \bar{C} \bar{V} C \bar{V}	poo]tikoo-v-oo]e	'portico (soc.)'
CC \bar{V} CVC \bar{V}	stuu]tiyoo-v-oo]e	'studio (soc.)'

$\bar{V}CV\bar{C}VCV$	aamatturu-v-oo \bar{t} e	'a Buddhist monk (soc.)'
$V\bar{C}V\bar{C}V\bar{C}V$	appukkaattu-v-oo \bar{t} e	'an advocate (soc.)'
$CV\bar{C}V\bar{C}VCV$	nottaaricu-v-oo \bar{t} e	'a notary (soc.)'
$CVCVCVCV\bar{V}$	\bar{t} ayinamoo-v-oo \bar{t} e	'dynamo (soc.)'
4.11.19 (ii)	When taking a nasal animate (+ hum.) plural suffix.	
$CVCV$	kuru-maar	'teachers'
$CV\bar{C}V$	pikku-maar	'Buddhist monks'
$C\bar{V}NCV\bar{V}$	caan \bar{t} oo-maar	'men of physical strength'
$CV\bar{C}V\bar{C}VCV$	nottaaricu-maar	'notaries'
$\bar{V}CV\bar{C}VCV$	aamatturu-maar	'Buddhist monks'
$V\bar{C}V\bar{C}V\bar{C}V$	appukkaattu-maar	'advocates'
4.11.20 (iii)	When taking a plosive animate (+ hum.) gender suffix.	
$CVCVCVCV\bar{V}$	\bar{t} ayinamoo-k-kaar-an	'he who owns a dynamo'
$C\bar{V}CVCV\bar{V}$	Ree \bar{t} iyoo-k-kaar-an	'he who owns a radio'
$CC\bar{V}CVCV\bar{V}$	s \bar{t} uu \bar{t} iyoo-k-kaar-an	'he who owns a studio'
$CVCV\bar{C}V\bar{V}$	piyaanoo-k-kaar-i	'a pianist (fem.)'
$CV\bar{C}V\bar{V}$	Riccoo-k-kaar-an	'rickshaw puller (mas.)'
4.11.21 (iv)	When taking a plosive inanimate plural suffix.	
$CCCV$	skRu-k-ka \bar{t}	'screws'
$C\bar{V}$	coo-k-ka \bar{t}	'shows'
$CVCV\bar{V}$	kiyuu-k-ka \bar{t}	'queues'

CVCV	Riccoo-k-ka]	'rickshaws'
CVCVCV	Ree[tiyoo-k-ka]	'radios'
CVCVCV	piyaanoo-k-ka]	'pianos'
CCVCVCV	s[uu[tiyoo-k-ka]	'studios'
CVCVCV	telkkoo-k-ka]	'delcos'
CVCVCV	poo[tikkoo-k-ka]	'porticos'

(c) O-Prosodic StemsNative

4.11.22 (i) When taking a vocalic sociative suffix.

CV	maa-v-oo[te	'flour (soc.)'
VCV	ooraa-v-oo[te	'name of a fish (soc.)'
VCV	ammaa-v-oo[te	'mother (soc.)'
CVCV	cuRaa-v-oo[te	'shark (soc.)'
CVCV	maamaa-v-oo[te	'maternal uncle (soc.)'

4.11.23 (ii) When taking a nasal animate (+ hum.) plural suffix.

VCV	ammaa-maar	'mothers (soc.)'
"	akkaa-maar	'elder sisters (soc.)'
"	ayyaa-maar	'fathers (soc.)'
CVCV	maamaa-maar	'maternal uncles'

4.11.24 (iii) When taking a nasal masculine gender suffix.

VCV	ammaa-n	'maternal uncle'
CVCV	cemmaa-n	'cobbler (mas.)'
"	ta[taaa-n	'goldsmith (mas.)'

CVCV vanṇaa-n 'washerman'(mas.)'

" kannaa-n 'idol craftsman'

4.11.25 (iv) When taking a vocalic feminine gender suffix.

CVCV taṭṭaa-tt-i 'woman of the goldsmith's caste'

" vanṇaa-tt-i ' " " " washerman's caste'

4.11.26 (v) When taking a liquid animate (+ hum.) plural suffix.

CVCV cemmaa-r 'cobblers'

" taṭṭaa-r 'goldsmiths'

" vanṇaa-r 'washermen'

" kannaa-r 'idol craftsmen'

4.11.27 (vi) When taking a plosive animate (+ hum.) gender suffix.

CV yaa-k-kaar-i 'an expectant mother who craves
for delicious food'

VCV akkaa-k-kaar-i 'elder sister'

4.11.28 (vii) When taking a plosive inanimate plural suffix.

VCV ooraa-k-kaḷ 'a kind of fish (pl.)'

CVCV puRaa-k-kaḷ 'pigeons'

Marginal

4.11.29 (i) When taking a vocalic sociative suffix.

CV raa-v-ooṭe 'night (soc.)'

VCV aayaa-v-ooṭe '(Sinhalese) servant girl (soc.)'

VCV allaa-v-ooṭe 'Muhammedan god (soc.)'

VNCV̄	an̩taa-v-oo̩te	'cauldron (soc.)'
V̄CCV̄	aatmaa-v-oo̩te	'soul (soc.)'
CV̄CV̄	Raamaa-v-oo̩te	'drama (soc.)'
CVCV̄	vicaa-v-oo̩te	'visa (soc.)'
CVCCV̄	patmaa-v-oo̩te	'Patmaa (pr.n. fem. soc.)'
CV̄CV̄	pa̩ttaa-v-oo̩te	'travelling allowance (soc.)'
CVNCV̄	ten̩taa-v-oo̩te	'physical exercise (soc.)'
CV̄CV̄	piippaa-v-oo̩te	'barrel (soc.)'
CV̄NCV̄	caan̩taa-v-oo̩te	'Caan̩taa (pr.n. fem. soc.)'
VCVCV̄	aluvaa-v-oo̩te	'an eatable (soc.)'
VNCVCV̄	in̩tiyaa-v-oo̩te	'India (soc.)'
CVCVCV̄	ciRimaa-v-oo̩te	'CiRimaa (pr.n. fem. soc.)'
VCV̄NCV̄	ulaan̩taa-v-oo̩te	'surveyor (soc.)'
CVCVCV̄	kameRaa-v-oo̩te	'camera (soc.)'
CVCV̄CV̄	malaayaa-v-oo̩te	'Malaysia (soc.)'
CV̄V̄CV̄	koppaRaa-v-oo̩te	'copra (soc.)'
CVNCVCV̄	pan̩ka̩aa-v-oo̩te	'bungalow (soc.)'
CV̄V̄CV̄	tillaanaa-v-oo̩te	'a kind of dance (soc.)'
VCVCV̄CV̄	amerikkaa-v-oo̩te	'America (soc.)'
V̄V̄VCV̄CV̄	annavannaa-v-oo̩te	'name of a fruit (soc.)'
CVCVCV̄CV̄	miRutappaa-v-oo̩te	'a kind of food (soc.)'

4.11.30 (ii) When taking a nasal animate (+hum) plural suffix.

V̄CV̄ aayaa-maar '(Sinhalese) servants (fem.)'

CVCV	kaakkaa-maar	'Muslim hawkers'
VCVNCV	ulaantaa-maar	'surveyors'
4.11.31 (iii)	When taking a plosive animate (+ hum.) suffix.	
V̄CV	aayaa-k-kaar-i	(Sinhalese) servant (fem.)'
CVCV	Raamaa-k-kaar-an	'an ardent admirer of dramas (mas.)'
CVCVCV	puruṭaa-k-kaar-an	'a trickster (mas.)'
CVCVCV	cinimaa-k-kaar-an	'a regular picture goer (mas.)'
CVCVCV	malaayaa-k-kaar-an	'a Malay (fem.)'
VNCVCV	intiyaa-k-kaar-i	'an Indian (fem.)'
VCVCVCV	amerikkaa-k-kaar-an	'an American (mas.)'
4.11.32 (iv)	When taking a plosive inanimate plural suffix.	
CV	raa-k-kaḷ	'nights'
VNCV	aṇṭaa-k-kaḷ	'cauldrons'
VCCV	aatmaa-k-kaḷ	'souls'
CVCV	Raamaa-k-kaḷ	'dramas'
CVCV	kullaa-k-kaḷ	'fez caps'
CVCCV	maynaa-k-kaḷ	'name of a bird (pl.)'
CVCV	piippaa-k-kaḷ	'barrels'
CVCVCV	kameRaa-k-kaḷ	'cameras'
CVNCV	hoṇṭaa-k-kaḷ	'a brand of motor vehicles (pl.)'
CVCVCV	paṅkaḷaa-k-kaḷ	'bungalows'
4.11.33 (v)	When taking a vocalic animate (+ hum.) plural suffix.	

CVCV̄	paanaa-ave	'paanaa (pr.n. fem.) and others'
CVCVCV̄	kamalaa-ave	'Kamalaa(pr.n. fem.) and others'
CVCCV̄	patmaa-ave	'Patmaa (pr.n. fem.) and others'
VNCVCV̄	intiraa-ave	'Intiraa(pr.n. fem.) and others'
CVNCVCV̄	cantiraa-ave	'Cantiraa(pr.n.fem.)and others'
CV̄NCV̄	caantaa-ave	'Caantaa (pr.n.fem.)and others'

4.12

VOWEL GRADE IN STEM-SYLLABLES

4.12.1 In this section, the differences in vowel grade identifiable in the syllables of the various types of nominal stem are enumerated. Within given structures, a maximum of three grades of openness, close, mid and open, can be stated for the stem syllables of nominal forms. The grade of vowel in stem-syllables is a property of the word and at the phonological level facilitates the statement of V units at different places in stem structure. The differences in vowel grade in stem-syllables will be shown according to the number of syllables in the stem.

A. Native Stems1. Monosyllables

4.12.2 All the three grades of openness, mentioned above, may be identified in the syllables of native monosyllabic stems. Accordingly, a three term system of V units symbolised as V_3 is to be stated for such stems.

V₃

Close	vin	pu
Mid	mey	pon
Open	kan	

2. DisyllablesInitial SyllableV₃

Close	i	u
Mid	e	o
Open	a	

Final Syllable-V₃

Close	eli	eru
Mid	cu	-
Open	nina	

4.12.3 There are some disyllabic kinship nominals which begin with a vocalic element. These kinship nominals, in their second person, take a possessive pronominal prefix ko~koo meaning 'your' and when doing so the stem initial vocalic element is elided. Like other prefixes, the second person possessive pronominal prefix ko~koo is a bound morpheme which occurs only with a class of inalienable nouns such as kinship nominals beginning

with a vocalic element.³

Nominal Forms

Second Person Forms

appu 'father'	koppu 'your father'
akkaa 'elder sister'	kokkaa 'your elder sister'
anne 'elder brother'	konne 'your elder brother'
ammaa 'mother'	kommaa 'your mother'
ammaan 'maternal uncle'	kommaan 'your maternal uncle'
attaa 'brother-in-law'	kottaa 'your brother-in-law'
aacci 'grandmother'	koocci 'your grandmother'
aatte 'mother'	kootte 'your mother'

4.12.4 The vowel grade in the initial syllable (prefix syllable) of these complex stems is in the mid range throughout the formal scatter. The vowel grade in the final syllable of the stems occurring with such monosyllabic suffix is but a mere repetition of the pattern described for disyllabic stems in the preceding sub-section (See 4.12.2).

4.12.5

3. Trisyllables

Initial Syllable

V₃

Close viciRi

kumi|i

-
3. This type of prefixation is extended to all classes (first, second and third person) of pronouns in certain languages. For instance, see Chinebuah (1962, p.40).

Third Syllable

$$\begin{array}{c} -V- \\ 3 \end{array}$$

Close	elumpicce	kurukkutti
Mid	-	ki]inocci
Open	tupparavu	

Final Syllable

$$-V_2$$

Close	kurukkutti	tontaravu
Mid	vi]utale	-

4.12.6 In the native class, there are a few quadrisyllabic nominals which take only the disyllabic prefix tiru- (e.g. tiruvi]aa 'temple festival', tiruniiRu 'holy ash'). The vowel grade in the initial and final syllable of this disyllabic prefix is in the close range. The vowel grade shown in the nominal root of quadrisyllabic stems occurring with the prefix tiru- is a repetition of the pattern described for disyllabic stems. Therefore no attempt is made here to describe them separately.

5. Pentasyllables

4.12.7 Pentasyllabic native stems are very few in number. All of them are complex stems. They comprise reduplicative and onomatopoeic verbal roots (plus nominalizing suffix) the pattern of all of which is

identical to those stated for disyllables (e.g. puRupuRuppu 'murmuring', aruvaruppu 'abomination' etc.). Therefore the vowel grade in such pentasyllabic stems is not discussed separately.

B. Marginal Stems

1. Monosyllables

4.12.8 All the three grades of openness may be identified in the monosyllabic stems of the marginal class.

V_3

Close	nip	puc
Mid	pel	ron
Open	pam	

2. Disyllables

Initial Syllable

V_3

Close	Riccoo	ruci
Mid	keli	loRi
Open	Rali	

Final Syllable

$-V_3$

Close	vakki	caakku
Mid	levve	tippoo
Open	nacal	

4.12.10

3. TrisyllablesInitial SyllableV-
3

Close	oo [†] ali	turumpu
Mid	pereeraa	poo ^{††} ikkoo
Open	kacceeri	

Medial Syllable-V₃

Close	laakkiri	Ravu [†] i
Mid	kameRaa	pakoo [†] aa
Open	kaṇakku	

Final Syllable-V₂

Close	aacaami	kaappuli
Mid	viRaante _n	piyaanoo
Open	caaraayam	

4.12.11 There are four instances where trisyllabic stems of the marginal class contain a monosyllabic prefix and a disyllabic nominal root. The vowel grade in these monosyllabic prefixes is either in the close or non-close (open) range. As the pattern exhibited in the disyllabic nominal roots of such trisyllabic stems is identical to those stated for disyllabic stems, they are not dealt with

separately (e.g. aniiti 'injustice', aca[†]te 'disregard', vinaa[†]i 'second', kutarkkam 'fallacious argument').

4. Quadrisyllables

Initial Syllable

$$V_{\overline{3}}$$

Close	vinaakkiri	uttaravu
Mid	epciniyar	nottaaricu
Open	alavaa [†] ku	

Second Syllable

$$-V_{\overline{3}}$$

Close	va [†] kiRo [†] tu	vicukkoottu
Mid	amerikkaa	-
Open	tavaRa [†] ne	

Third Syllable

$$-V_{\overline{3}}$$

Close	aaspattiri	aamatturu
Mid	kavu [†] meen [†] tu	vicukkoottu
Open	ariccane	

Final Syllable

$$-V_{\overline{3}}$$

Close	vinaakkiri	appukkaattu
-------	------------	-------------

Mid	tavaRaṇe	†ayinamoo
Open	camaataanam	

4.12.13 In a few instances, the monosyllabic prefix a- or the disyllabic prefixes ava-, api-, and cu- precede the nominal root which itself may be either disyllabic or trisyllabic. The initial syllable of the quadrisyllabic stems taking the prefix a- is in the open range (e.g. ayookkiyam 'dishonesty', anaacaaram 'improper conduct', aniyaayam 'injustice' and akkiramam 'cruelty'). The initial syllable of the only nominal that takes the monosyllabic prefix cu- is in the close range (e.g. cumaṅkali 'a woman whose husband is alive'). The initial syllable of the nominals occurring with the disyllabic prefixes ava- and api- are in the open range. The second syllable of the quadrisyllabic stems occurring with these prefixes is either in the close or non-close (open) range (e.g. avamaanam 'dishonour' and apimaanam 'affection'). As the pattern of vowel grade revealed in the disyllabic or trisyllabic nominal roots of these quadrisyllabic stems occurring with either the monosyllabic prefixes a- and cu- or the disyllabic prefixes ava- and api- is identical to those shown for simple disyllabic and trisyllabic stems, they are not taken into consideration separately.

4.12.14

5. PentasyllablesInitial Syllable $-V_2$

Close piRakkiRaaci

uvattiravam

Non-close

appootikkari

Second Syllable $-V_2$

Close campIRutaayam

aluminiyam

Non-close

piRakkiRaaci

Third Syllable $-V_3$

Close appootikkari

campIRutaayam

Mid -

niyuumooniyaa

Open

[ayinamayit]

Fourth Syllable $-V_2$

Close niyuumooniyaa

-

Non-close appootikkari

Final Syllable $-V_2$

Close appootikkari

Non-close

niyuumooniyaa

4.12.15

There are three pentasyllabic stems which

contain either the disyllabic prefix ava- or anu- (e.g. avacakunam 'bad omen' , avalaccanam 'that which is ugly' and anukkirakam 'grace'). What has been said about the vowel grade of quadrisyllabic stems taking these prefixes is also applicable to these pentasyllabic stems.

4.12.16

6. Hexasyllables

There is only one instance of a hexasyllabic stem and it is of a complex nature. The stem concerned is avamariyaate 'disrespect' and this stem consists of the disyllabic prefix ava- and the quadrisyllabic root mariyaate 'respect'. What has been said about the vowel grade of quadrisyllabic stems taking these prefixes is applicable to this stem as well. The vowel grade shown in the quadrisyllabic nominal root of this complex hexasyllabic stem is but a repetition of the pattern stated for simple quadrisyllabic stems.

4.13

SYLLABLE QUANTITY

4.13.1 Nominal stem syllables have been classified into light and heavy (See 3.4.2 - 3.4.9) as such a classification is conducive to making certain noteworthy and economical phonological statements about stem structures of native and marginal forms. A comparison of the canonical form of stems of the native class with those

of the marginal class will reveal that all the monosyllabic stems of the native class contain heavy syllables. In the marginal class, however, there is one instance of a monosyllabic stem containing a light syllable.

<u>Can.Fm. of</u>	<u>Qty. pat. of</u>	<u>Nom.St.</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<u>Nom.St.</u>	<u>St.Syl.</u>		

CCCV	L	skRu [skru]	'screw'
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4.13.2 None of the monosyllabic stems of the marginal class is of the canonical form \bar{V} which is found only in one instance in the native form *ii* 'bee'. The native class is destitute of trisyllabic stems with a final open heavy syllable. The marginal class abounds in stems with such type of canonical form.

<u>Can.Fm. of</u>	<u>Qty. pat. of</u>	<u>Nom.St.</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<u>Nom.St.</u>	<u>St.Syl.</u>		
VCVC \bar{V}	L L H	aluvaa	'an eatable'
CVCVC \bar{V}	" " "	puru \bar{t} aa	'trickery'
"	" " "	kaRuvaa	'cinnamon'
"	" " "	kameRaa	'camera'

etc.

4.13.3 Within such a class (i.e., trisyllabic stems with final open heavy syllables) some of the marginal stems have either the first and third syllable or the second and third syllable or all the syllables as heavy ones.

<u>Can.Fm. of</u>	<u>Qty. pat. of</u>	<u>Nom.St.</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<u>Nom.St.</u>	<u>St.Syl.</u>		
CVCVCV	H L H	Reetiyoo	'radio'
CCVCVCV	" " "	stuuṭiyoo	'studio'
CVCVCV	L H H	piyaanoo	'piano'
"	" " "	pakootaa	'an eatable'
CVCVCV	H H H	pootṭikkoo	'portico'

4.13.4 In the native class only the third syllable of two quadrisyllabic stems (with final open syllable) are found to be heavy.

<u>Can.Fm. of</u>	<u>Qty. pat. of</u>	<u>Nom.St.</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<u>Nom.St.</u>	<u>St.Syl.</u>		
CVCVCVCV	L L H L	viṭayaaṭṭu	'sports'
VNCVCVCV	H L H L	aṅkalaayppu	'greediness'

Pentasyllabic stems with final heavy syllables are only a feature of the marginal class.

<u>Can.Fm. of</u>	<u>Qty.pat. of</u>	<u>Nom.St.</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<u>Nom.St.</u>	<u>St.Syl.</u>		
VCVCVCVCVC	L L L L H	aluminiyam	'aluminium'
CVCVCVCVCV	" " " " "	ṭayinamayil	'dynamite'
VCVCVCVCVC	L H L H H	uruttiraaccam	'rosary bead'

4.13.5 The distinction of light and heavy syllables thus helps to bring out clearly the alien patterns of syllabic structure that either have been adopted (as in the case of the colloquial speech of the English educated

bilinguals like the writer) or await adoption⁴ (by many a non-English educated member of the Jaffna Tamil community). Moreover the derivational process of some verbal nouns (See 7.4.45 - 7.4.47) could be economically stated by describing the change in the syllable quantity of their relevant verb stems.

4.13.6 The syllable quantity of stems is, in most instances, constant throughout the formal scatter. But when some stems take certain suffixes, the final light syllable of such stems change into heavy ones.

-
4. It may be noted here that the Jaffna Tamil community comprises some monolingual Tamil speakers who refer to lexical items like Reetiyo 'radio', piyaano 'piano', kameRaa 'camera', stuuṭiyo 'studio' and pootṭikkoo 'portico' by such native compounds as paaṭṭu-p-peṭṭi '(literally) song box', meece viṇe-p-peṭṭi '(literally) the table instrumental music box', paṭam piṭikkiRa caamaan '(literally) the article that takes photograph', paṭam piṭikkiRa iṭam or kaṭe '(literally) the shop or place where photograph is taken' and viṭṭu mukappu '(literally) front part of a house' respectively. Therefore in the colloquial speech of such people one has little chance of observing nominal forms with alien patterns of syllabic structure like the ones described above.

4.13.7

SyllabicStructure of StemNativeDisyllabicStem

CVCV

paRe-cc-i 'a woman of the tom
beater's caste'

"

kaRi-k-kaar-an 'fish seller (mas.)'

CVNVCV

taŋke-cc-i 'younger sister'

VCV

eru-k-kaar-an 'cow-dung buyer(mas.)'

CVCV

paru-k-ka['pimples'

CVCV

koovi-cc-i 'a woman of the
corpse carrying caste'

CVCV

kuppe-cc-i 'a worthless woman'

4.13.8

Trisyllabic Stem

CVCVCV

viciRi-k-kaar-an 'ola fan seller
(mas.)'

CVCVCV

pu[ukke-cc-i 'an abominable woman'

CVNVCVCV

nampikke-k-kaar-an 'one who places
implicit trust in another person'

4.13.9

MarginalDisyllabic Stem

CVCV

loRi-k-kaar-an 'lorry driver'

CVCV

ce[ti-cc-i 'a woman of the
merchant caste'

CVCV

taa[ti-k-kaar-an 'a bearded man'

CVNVCV

can[ti-t-tanam 'threat with
physical force'

4.13.10

Trisyllabic

CVCVNVCV	paRaṅki-cc-i	'a Burgher (fem.)'
V̄C̄VCV	annaaci-k-kaar-an	'pine apple seller'
CV̄C̄VCV	peekkaRi-k-kaar-an	'owner of a bakery'
CVCCV̄C̄V	muspaatti-k-kaar-an	'an entertaining man'

4.13.11

Quadrisyllabic

CVCVCVCV	tavaRaṅe-k-kaar-an	'tavern keeper'
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4.13.12 When animate nouns are derived from certain abstract nouns like caattiram 'astrology', turookam 'treachery' etc., the final heavy syllables of nominal stems change into light syllables (e.g. CV̄C̄VCV H L L caattiri 'astrologer' from CV̄C̄VCVC H L H caattiram 'astrology'. See also 6.6.18).

4.13.13 In the following tables, the quantity pattern of stem-syllables is illustrated with examples drawn from monosyllabic and polysyllabic stems of both the native and marginal class.

Native

Can.Fm. of Nom.St.	Qty.pat. of St.Syl.	Monosyllabic Stem	Gloss
V̄	H	iī	'bee'
V̄C	H	iir	'egg of louse'
CV̄	H	pīi	'faeces'
CVC	H	kan	'eye'

CVC H peer 'name'

TABLE 4.5

4.13.14

Can.Fm. of Nom.St.	Qty.pat. of St.Syl.	Disyllabic Stem	Gloss
VCV	L L	uḷi	'chisel'
V̄CV	H L	aavi	'steam'
VCVC	L H	aṇil	'squirrel'
V̄CV̄C	H H	oonṇaan	'chameleon'
V̄CV	H L	uppu	'salt'
VNCV	H L	iṇci	'ginger'
V̄CV̄	H H	akkaa	'elder brother'
V̄CV	H L	eeccu	'scolding'
V̄NCV	H L	aanṭu	'year'
V̄CCV	H L	aaṭci	'rule'
V̄C̄CV	H L	eeyp̄pu	'deceiving'
V̄CV̄C	H H	ammaan	'maternal uncle'
CVCV	L L	maṚi	'she goat'
CVCV̄	L H	nilaa	'moonlight'
C̄VCV	H L	tooṭu	'ear ring'
V̄CVC	H H	eeval	'command'
V̄CV̄C	H H	enṇam	'idea'
VNCVC	H H	aṇṭal	'instigation'
V̄CV̄C	H H	eekkam	'fear'
V̄NCVC	H H	uun̄cal	'swing'
CVCVC	L H	poruḷ	'wealth'

CV̄CV	H L	pattu	'ten'
CVNCV	H L	pantu	'ball'
CVCCV	H L	celvi	'proper name (fem.)'
C̄VCVC	H H	nii am	'length'
C̄VCCV	H L	kee vi	'question'
CVCV	H L	neetti	'that which is tasty'
C̄VNCV	H L	puun tu	'herb'
CVNCVC	H H	pen til	'wife'
CV̄CVC	H H	to til	'cradle'
CV̄CVC	H H	ta t aan	'goldsmith'
CV̄CVC	H H	vaa t am	'emaciation'
C̄VC̄CV	H L	vaa ttu	'blessing'
CVCNCVC	H H	paympal	'company'

TABLE 4.6

4.13.15

Can. Pm. of Nom. St.	Qty. pat. of St. Syl.	Trisyllabic Stem	Gloss
VCVCV	L L L	a ivu	'ruin'
VCVCVC	L L H	aluval	'business'
̄VCVCVC	H L H	aaRutal	'consolatory words'
VOV̄CV	L H L	a uppu	'fire hearth'
VCNCV	L H L	o unke	'lane'
VCVCCV	L H L	iyalpu	'means'
CVCVCV	L L L	kavale	'worry'
C̄VCVCV	H L L	kaalame	'morning'
̄VC̄CV	H H L	eemaattu	'cheating'

CVCVC̄V	L H L	veṭṭippu	'crack'
CVCVN̄CV	L H L	viruntu	'feast'
CVC̄V̄CV	H L L	kattari	'aubergine'
CVCVCVC	L L H	koḷuval	'quarrel'
CVCCVCV	H L L	koḷmati	'cost price'
C̄VCCVCV	H L L	ceermati	'relation'
CVCVC̄VC	L H H	paḷakkam	'habit'
CVCVN̄CVC	L H H	puḷuṅkal	'boiled rice'
CVNC̄VCV	H H L	caṅkaane	'place name'
CV̄C̄VCV	H H L	pollaappu	'evil'
C̄V̄C̄VCV	H H L	caappaaṭu	'meal'
V̄CV̄VC	L H H	otukkam	'seclusion'
CV̄C̄VCVC	H H H	cunnaakam	'place name'
C̄VN̄C̄VCVC	H H H	koonṭaavil	'place name'
C̄V̄C̄V̄CVC	H H H	yaaḷppaanam	'place name'

TABLE 4.7

4.13.16

Can.Fm. of Nom.St.	Qty.pat. of St.Syl.	Quadrisyllabic Stem	Gloss
CVCVCVCV	L L L L	viṭutale	'holiday'
CVCVCVC̄V	L L L H	tiruviḷaa	'temple festival'
CVCVCVCVC	L L L H	tiruvavuḷ	'god's grace'
CVCVCVC̄V	L L H L	kiḷinocci	'place name'
CV̄C̄VCVCV	H L L L	tupparavu	'cleanliness'
CVNCVCVCV	H L L L	tontaravu	'trouble'

CVCVC \bar{V} CVC	L L H H	varumaanam	'income'
CVCVC \bar{V} CV	L H H L	kurukkutti	'fungus'
CVCVC \bar{V} \bar{V}	L L H L	vi ayaa \bar{t} tu	'sports'
VNCVC \bar{V} C \bar{V}	H L H L	aṅkalaayppu	'greediness'

TABLE 4.8

4.13.17

MARGINAL

Can.Fm. of Nom.St.	Qty.pat. of St.Syl.	Monosyllabic Stem	Gloss
CCCV	L	skRu [skru]	'screw'
C \bar{V}	H	raa	'night'
CVC	H	pin	'pin'
C \bar{V} C	H	vaan	'van'
CVCC	H	palp	'bulb'
C \bar{V} CC	H	\bar{t} aans	'dance'
CC \bar{V} C	H	pi aan [p a:n]	'plan'

TABLE 4.9

4.13.18

Can.Fm. of Nom.St.	Qty.pat. of St.Syl.	Disyllabic Stem	Gloss
VCV	L L	uru	'state of being devil possessed'
\bar{V} CV	H L	uuci	'needle'
VCVC	L L	ayis	'ice'
\bar{V} C \bar{V} C	H H	aamaar	'hammer'
CVCV	L L	maṇi	'bell'
C \bar{V} CV	H L	peenṇi	'drinking glass'

CVC \bar{V}	L H	kiyuu	'queue'
VNC \bar{V}	H H	an \bar{t} aa	'cauldron'
V \bar{C} VC	H H	attar	'scent'
VNCVC	H H	an \bar{t} ar	'one hundred weight'
V \bar{C} VC	L H	ucaar	'joviality'
VCCV	H L	asti	'cremated ash'
V \bar{C} VC	H H	oo \bar{t} al	'hotel'
CV \bar{C} V	H L	pe \bar{t} i	'box'
CVNCV	H L	panti	'row'
CVCCV	H L	pakti	'devotion'
C \bar{V} \bar{C} V	H L	pee \bar{t} i	'interview'
C \bar{V} NCV	H L	vaanti	'vomit'
C \bar{V} CCV	H L	caa \bar{t} ci	'witness'
CVNC \bar{V}	H H	ka \bar{n} caa	'an intoxicating drug'
CV \bar{C} \bar{V}	H H	kokkoo	'cocoa'
C \bar{V} NC \bar{V}	H H	caa \bar{n} too	'a man of physical strength'
CVCVC	L H	mayik	'microphone'
CVC \bar{V} C	L H	riyuup	'tube'
C \bar{V} CVC	H H	taaram	'wife'
CVC \bar{V} C	L H	caluun	'(barber) saloon'
C \bar{V} C \bar{V} C	H H	caamaan	'article'
CV \bar{C} VC	H H	ka \bar{t} tar	'cutter'
CVNCVC	H H	nampar	'number'
CVCCVC	H H	pisran	'piston'
CV \bar{C} \bar{V} C	H H	yappaan	'Japan'

CCVCVC	H H	steecan	'station'
CCVCVC	H H	skooppan	'spade as in cards game'
CVCVCC	L H	karenR	'electric current'
CVCCVCC	H H	laycens	'licence'
CCVCVC	H H	kiRikkeṭ	[krik:et] 'cricket'
CVCVCC	H H	ciimenR	'cement'
CVNCCV	H L	loonRi	[lo:ndri] 'laundry'

TABLE 4.10

4.13.19

Can.Fm. of	Qty.pat. of	Trisyllabic	Gloss
Nom.St.	St.Syl.	Stem	
VCVCV	L L L	avati	'hurry'
VCVCV	L H L	aniiti	'injustice'
VCVCV	L L H	aluvaa	'an eatable'
VCVCV	H L L	aavaṇi	'the month of August'
VCVCV	H H L	aacaami	'a fraudulent man'
VCVCV	L H L	aṭaattu	'improper action'
VCVCV	H H L	aapattu	'danger'
VCVCV	L H H	atiṭṭam	'luck'
VCVCV	H H L	aalaatti	'waving of lights'
VCVCV	H L L	aṭṭami	'an astrological term'
VCVCV	H H L	annaaci	'pineapple'
VCVNCV	L H L	ilanke	'Ceylon'
VCVCVC	H L H	aatanam	'legal deed'
VCVCVC	H H H	aataayam	'profit'
VCVCVC	L H H	ulookam	'metal'

V̄CVCV̄C	L L H	alukoos	'executioner'
V̄C̄V̄NCV̄	L H H	ulaanta _{n̄} a	'surveyor'
V̄C̄VCVC	H L H	o _t takam	'camel'
VCCVCV	H L H	aRputam	'wonder'
VNCVCVC	H L H	a _{n̄} taram	'precarious state'
V̄C̄V̄CVC	H H H	utteecam	'that which is tentative'
V̄C̄VCVC	H L H	aattiram	'anger'
VNCVCV̄	H L H	i _{n̄} tiyaa	'India'
VNCVCV	H L H	i _{n̄} kilis	'English language'
V̄CCVCV	H L L	iisvari	'proper name (fem.)'
CVCVCV	L L L	tinucu	'type'
CVCV̄CV	L H L	tiraacu	'weighing scale'
C̄V̄CVCV	H L L	paatiri	'Christian priest'
CVCV̄C̄V̄	L H H	piyaanoo	'piano'
CVCV̄C̄V̄	L H L	ravukke	'an item of female's dress'
CVCVN̄CV	L H L	turumpu	'trump as in cards game'
CVCVCCV	L H L	camas _t i	'federalism'
CVCVCV̄	L L H	cinimaa	'cinema'
C̄V̄CVCV̄	H L H	Ree _t iyoo	'radio'
CVCV̄C̄V̄	L H L	viRaattu	'broth'
CVCV̄NCV	L H L	tiRa _{n̄} ku	'bar lock'
CVNCVCV̄	H L H	pa _{n̄} ka _l aa	'bungalow'
CVC̄VCV	H L L	ko _t take	'shed'
CVNCVCV	H L L	ta _{n̄} tike	'palanquin'

CV \bar{C} V \bar{C} V	H H L	cappaattu	'shoe'
CVCVCVC	L L H	paRuvam	'full moon day'
CVCV \bar{C} VC	L H H	paṇikkam	'spittoon'
CVCV \bar{C} V \bar{C}	L H H	picukkaal	'fiscal'
CV \bar{C} V \bar{C} V	H H L	paṭṭaṇi	'a kind of gram'
CVCC \bar{C} VC	H H L	vaykaaci	'the month of May'
CVCC \bar{C} V \bar{C} V	H H L	muspaatti	'fun'
C \bar{V} CV \bar{C} V	H H L	paavippu	'use'
CV \bar{C} V \bar{C} V	H H L	valluuRu	'falcon'
CV \bar{C} V \bar{C} V	H H L	pallakku	'palanquin'
C \bar{V} \bar{C} V \bar{C} V	H H H	pooṭṭikkoo	'portico'
C \bar{V} \bar{C} V \bar{C} VC	H H H	ṭaakkuttar	'doctor'
CV \bar{C} VCVC	H L H	cammataṁ	'consent'
CVNCVCVC	H L H	vapcakam	'treachery'
CVNC \bar{V} CVC	H H H	canteekam	'doubt'
CV \bar{C} V \bar{C} VC	H H H	pattaayam	'large chest'
CVCC \bar{V} CVC	H H H	camcaaram	'wife'
CVNCV \bar{C} V \bar{C}	H H H	ciṅkappuur	'Singapore'
CVCVC \bar{C} VC	L H H	kutarkkam	'fallacious argument'
C \bar{V} NCC \bar{V} CV	H H L	caampiRaṇi	[sa:mbra:ṇi] 'frankincense'
CC \bar{V} CV \bar{C} V	H L H	stūṭiyoo	'studio'
CVC \bar{V} CVC	L H H	kiṭaaram	'cauldron'
C \bar{V} CV \bar{C} VC	H L H	tuucaṇam	'obscene'
C \bar{V} C \bar{V} CVC	H H H	caaraayam	'arrack'

CVCVCVC L L H poli[†]ool 'an insecticide'

TABLE 4.11

4.13.20

Can.Fm. of	Qty.pat. of	Quadrisyllabic	Gloss
Nom.St.	St.Syl.	Stem	
VCVCVCV	L L L L	anumati	'permission'
VCVCVCV	L L H L	alumaari	'almyrah'
VCVCVCV	H L L L	aataravu	'support'
VCVCVCV	H L L L	uttaravu	'permission'
VCVCVCV	H H L L	aamatturu	'a Buddhist monk'
VCVCVCV	L H L L	ariccane	'an offering to god'
VCVCVCV	H H L L	aaspattiri	'hospital'
VCVCVCV	H L H L	aamanakku	'castor tree'
VCVCVCV	H L L H	aacciramam	'hermitage'
VCVCVCV	L H L H	utaaranam	'example'
VCVCVCV	H H H L	appukkaattu	'an advocate'
VCVCVCV	H L H H	uttiyookam	'job'
VCVCVCV	L L L H	avacaram	'hurry'
VCVCVCV	L H L H	alacciyam	'indifference'
VCVCVCV	L H L H	ayookkiyam	'dishonesty'
VCVCVCV	H H L H	aa [†] amparam	'ostensation'
VCVCVCV	L L H H	atikaaram	'authority'
VCVCVCV	L L L L	tavaRane	'tavern'
VCVCVCV	L L H L	mariyaate	'civility'
VCVCVCV	L H L L	pireerane	'proposal'
VCVCVCV	L H L L	piraccane	'problem'

CV̄CV̄CV̄CV̄	H L L L	caccaravu	'trouble'
CVCV̄CV̄CV̄	L H H L	puraṭṭaaci	'the month of September'
CVCV̄CV̄CV̄	L H L L	vinaakkiri	'vinegar'
CV̄NCVCV̄CV̄	H L H L	vaṅkiRooṭṭu	'bankruptcy'
CVCV̄CV̄CV̄	L H H L	vicukkoottu	'biscuit'
CV̄CV̄CV̄CV̄	H H L L	nottaaricu	'a notary'
CV̄CV̄CV̄CV̄	H H H L	cittaarippu	'suing'
CV̄CV̄CV̄CV̄	H H L H	naccattiram	'star'
CVCVCV̄CV̄	L L H H	piracaaram	'propaganda'
CVCVCVCVC	L L L H	tayiriyam	'courage'
CV̄CV̄CV̄CV̄	H L H H	vittiyaacam	'difference'
CVCVCV̄NCVC	L L H H	piracaṅkam	'lecture'
CVCV̄CV̄CV̄	L H L H	payittiyam	'madness'
CVCV̄CV̄CV̄	L H L H	cineekitam	'friendship'
CVCV̄NCVCVC	L H L H	kaRaṅṭakam	'small metal box'
CVCV̄CV̄CV̄	L H H H	cavukkaaram	'soap'
CVCV̄CV̄CV̄	L H L H	cuvaattiyam	'sanitation'
CV̄CV̄CV̄CV̄	H H L H	caamattiyam	'cleverness'
CV̄CV̄CV̄CV̄	H H L H	caataaraṇam	'that which is ordinary'
CVCV̄CV̄CV̄	L H H H	camaataanam	'peace'
CVCVCVCV̄	L L L H	ṭayinamoo	'dynamo'

TABLE 4.12

4.13.21

Can.Fm. of Nom.St.	Qty.pat. of St.Syl.	Pentasyllabic Stem	Gloss
VCVCVCVCVC	L L L L H	aluminium	'aluminium'
VCV̄VCVCVC	L H L L H	uvattiravam	'harassing'
VCVCV̄VCVC	L L H L H	avalaccanam	'that which is ugly'
VCV̄VCVCVC	L H L L H	anaavaciyam	'that which is unnecessary'
VCV̄VCVCVC	L H L L H	anukkirakam	'grace'
V̄VCV̄VCVC	H L H L H	anniyoonniyam	'intimacy'
VCV̄VCV̄VC	L H L H H	uruttiraaccam	'rosary bead'
CVCVCV̄VC	L L H L H	pirayoocanam	'usefulness'
CVNCVCVCV̄VC	H L L H H	campiRutaayam	'convention'
CVCVCVCVCVC	L L L L H	†ayinamayit	'dynamite'
V̄V̄VCV̄VCV	H H H L L	appootikkari	'apothecary'
CVCV̄CV̄VCV̄	L H H L H	niyuumooniyaa	'pneumonia'
CVCV̄VCV̄CV	L H L H L	piRakkiRaaci	'proctor'

TABLE 4.13

CHAPTER 5

5

SUFFIX STRUCTURES

5.0 In the chapter on Nominal Classification and Categories, reference has been made to various morphological elements such as prefixes, stems and suffixes (Adjectives, Adverbs, Participial nouns, Verbal nouns, Numerals, Case, Gender and Number). Some generalized observations concerning certain noteworthy phonological features of suffix structures found in the nominal forms are embodied in this short chapter. A detailed examination of each suffix is

5.1 undertaken in the chapter on Phonological Shape of the Nominal in relation to Grammatical Categories.

5.1.1 Suffix structures are statable in regard to the following word classes and grammatical categories: Adjective, Verbal Noun, Participial Noun, Pronoun, Numeral, Adverb, Abstract Noun, Case, Gender and Number. The suffixes taken by participial nouns and pronouns will be discussed under case, gender and number. Though most of the categories take more than one suffix, only a few examples for each category will be shown by way of illustration. The suffixes have been underlined in the examples so that they may be easily distinguished.

<u>Category</u>	<u>Example</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
5.1.2 Adjective	paaram-aana (caamaan) ¹	'heavy article'
"	pull-aam (ku]al)	'flute'
"	cunnaaka-ttu (pas)	'bus to Cunnaakam'
5.1.3 Verbal Noun	u[u-p-pu	'dress'
" "	pori-y-al	'anything fried'
" "	nii]-am	'length'
" "	etir-i	'opponent'
" "	kol-e	'murder'
" "	kee]-vi	'question'
" "	pani-vu	'obedience'
" "	poor-ve	'blanket'
" "	tar-u-mati	'that which one owes another'
" "	var-u-maanam	'income'
" "	atir-c-ci	'shock'
" "	mu]i-c-cu	'knot'
" "	peru-me	'pride'
" "	cooti-ne	'examination'
" "	poR-aame	'jealousy'
" "	civa-le	'a person of fair complexion'
" "	kilukilu-p-pe	'rattle'
" "	pa]u-k-ke	'bed'
" "	vel-ti → veRRi [ʋet:i]	'victory'
" "	veru]-tu → veru]tu	'threat'

1. The bracketed items are nominal forms which could collocate with the adjectives cited.

"	"	vi <u>t</u> -t-ale	'holiday'
"	"	var-a- <u>ttu</u>	'coming'
5.1.4	Abstract Noun	vamp <u>u</u> -t-tanam	'trickery'
5.1.5	Numeral (Ordinal)	mutal-a <u>am</u> (tavane)	'first term'
"	"	muun <u>t</u> -aavatu (ta <u>t</u> ave)	'third time'
5.1.6	Adverb	keti-y-a <u>y</u> (e <u>t</u> utu)	'write quickly'
5.1.7	Case	avan-e	'he (acc.)'
"	"	avan-a <u>ale</u>	'he (ins.)'
"	"	avan-o <u>o</u> <u>t</u> e	'he (soc.)'
"	"	avan-u <u>k</u> ku	'he (dat.)'
"	"	avan-i <u>t</u> <u>t</u> e-y-irun <u>t</u> u	'he (abl.)'
"	"	at-i <u>l</u> e-y-irun <u>t</u> u	'that (abl.-hum.)'
"	"	avan-in <u>r</u> e	'he (gen.)'
"	"	avan-i <u>t</u> <u>t</u> e	'he (loc.)'
"	"	teru-v-i <u>l</u> e	'road (loc. -hum.)'

5.2 Gender

5.2.1	"	Animate Human	ku <u>t</u> i-ka <u>a</u> r-an	'a drunkard (mas.)'
"	"	"	putti- <u>ca</u> ali	'an intelligent person'
5.2.2	"	Masculine	a-v-an	'he'
"	"	"	kokkuvil-a <u>a</u> n	'a man residing at Kokkuvil'
"	"	"	va <u>n</u> naa- <u>n</u>	'washerman'
"	"	"	a-v-a <u>r</u>	'he (hon.)'

5.2.3		Feminine	a-v-a _l	'she'
	"		kokkuvil-aa _l	'a woman residing at Kokkuvil'
	"		vanṇaa-tt-i	'a woman of the washerman's caste'
	"		a-v-a [ʌ ʊ ə]	'she (hon.)'
5.2.4		Neuter	a-tu	'that thing'
5.3	Number			
5.3.1	"	mas. sg.	paṭikkiRa-v-an	'he who is studying'
	"	" "	kokkuvil-aan	'a man residing at Kokkuvil'
	"	" "	vanṇaa-n	'washerman'
	"	" "	paṭikkiRa-v-ar	'he who is studying (hon.)'
5.3.2	"	fem. "	paṭikkiRa-v-a _l	'she who is studying'
	"	" "	kokkuvil-aa _l	'a woman residing at Kokkuvil'
	"	" "	vanṇaa-tt-i	'a woman of the washerman's caste'
	"	" "	paṭikkiRa-v-a [pʌtik:irʌ ʊ ə]	'she who is studying (hon.)'
5.3.3	"	mas. pl.	paṭikkiRavaṇ-ka _l	'they (mas.) who are studying'
	"	" "	kokkuvilaan-ka _l	'those (mas.) who are residing at Kokkuvil'

- 5.3.4 " " fem. pl. paṭikkiRava[-ave 'they (fem.)'
are studying'
" " " kokkuvilaa[-ave 'women
residing at Kokkuvil'
" " " vanṇaatti-kal 'women of the
washerman's caste'
- 5.3.5 1.4.1 " Epicene pl. vaatti-maar 'teachers'
" " " paṭikkiRa-v-e 'those who study'
" " " tamil-ar 'Tamils'
" " " kokkuvil-aar 'those who reside
at Kokkuvil'
" " " vanṇaa-r 'washermen'
- 5.3.6 " Neuter sg. e-tu 'which thing'
- 5.3.7 " " pl. etu-kal 'which things'

5.3.8 When the nominal is subjected to grammatical analysis, it becomes necessary to recognize a certain order in the occurrence of these elements within the nominal. The order in which these elements can occur in the nominal and their possible combinations within the nominal are dealt with in the following paragraphs.

5.4 The Place of occurrence of Suffixes in Structures

5.4.1 Adverbial, adjectival and ordinal numeral suffixes occur word finally. But in some instances, the nominal stem structures with the ordinal numeral suffix -aavatu can be followed by the suffixation of either the interrogative

nouns are formed by suffixing gender and number suffixes to relative participial stems. The relative participial suffix -a is medial in occurrence.

	<u>Example</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
Present Participial Noun	po ikiR-a-v-an	'he who perforates'
Past	po inc-a-v-an	'he who perforated'

5.5.2 The animate human gender suffix -kaar is always medial in occurrence.

e.g. veRi-kaar-an 'an intoxicated man'

5.5.3 The animate human gender suffix -caali is word final when this suffix is not followed by a plural or a case suffix.

e.g. Nomin. sg. putti-caali 'an intelligent person'
 " pl. putti-caali-ka| 'intelligent persons'
 Accusative putti-caali-y-e 'intelligent person (acc.)'

5.5.4 Gender suffixes are word final when the nominal concerned is singular and is in the nominative case form. They are medial when the nominal takes a plural suffix or a case suffix.

	<u>Example</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
mas. sg. (Nomin.)	pe <u>i</u> -y-an	'boy'
fem. " "	pe <u>i</u> -cc-i	'girl'
mas. pl. "	pe <u>i</u> -y-an-ka	'boys'

fem. pl.	"	pe ^t i-cc-i-ka]	'girls'
mas. sg. (acc.)		pe ^t i-y- <u>an</u> -e	'boy (acc.)'
fem. sg.	"	pe ^t i-cc-i-y-e	'girl (acc.)'
		etc.	

5.5.5 When the nominative case forms take either the interrogative suffix -ee or -oo or the particle -um or -taan or -oo, the gender and number suffixes are medial in occurrence.

mas. sg. (Nomin.)		pe ^t i-y- <u>an</u> -ee	'is it a boy?'
"	"	pe ^t i-y- <u>an</u> -oo	" " "
"	"	pe ^t i-y- <u>an</u> -um	'the boy and'
"	"	pe ^t i-y- <u>an</u> -taan	'(it is) no doubt a boy'
"	"	pe ^t i-y- <u>an</u> -oo pe ^t t ^e -y-oo	'either a boy or a girl'
"	pl.	pe ^t i-y- <u>an</u> -ka]-ee	'is it boys?'
"	"	pe ^t i-y- <u>an</u> -ka]-oo	" " "
"	"	pe ^t i-y- <u>an</u> -ka]-um	'the boys and'
"	"	pe ^t i-y- <u>an</u> -ka]-taan	'(it is) no doubt boys'
"	"	pe ^t i-y- <u>an</u> -ka]-oo pe ^t t ^e -ka]-oo	'either boys or girls'
		etc.	

5.5.6 In neuter verbal nouns that occur in the nominative case and cannot be pluralised, the nominalizing suffixes are word-final elements.

e.g. poRu-me 'patience' , eri-cc-al 'jealousy'
 mali-vu 'cheapness'

5.5.7 In neuter verbal nouns that can be pluralised and in animate (+hum.) verbal nouns, the nominalizing suffixes occur between verb stems and number or gender suffixes and therefore they are medial in occurrence.

	<u>Example</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
Neuter Verbal Noun	a[a- <u>vu</u> -ka]	'measurements'
	pori-y- <u>al</u> -ka]	'anything fried (pl.)'
Animate Verbal Noun	tay-y- <u>al</u> -k-kaar-an	'tailor (mas.)'
" " "	poRu- <u>me</u> -caali	'a man of endurance'
" " "	etir-i-ka]	'opponents'

5.5.8 The abstract nominal suffix -tanam is word final in the nominative case. When it is followed by case suffixes or the adverbial suffix -aay , it is medial in occurrence.

	<u>Example</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
Nominative Case	ke[t̪i-t- <u>tanam</u>	'cleverness'
Accusative "	ke[t̪i-t- <u>tana(m)</u> -tt-e	'cleverness (acc.)'
Adverbial Form	ke[t̪i-t- <u>tanam</u> -aay(-c-cey)	'do (it) cleverly'

5.5.9 Case suffixes are usually word final in occurrence. But when a declined nominal occurs with either the interrogative suffix -ee or -oo or the particle -um or the post positions -paRRi and iruntu , the case suffixes are medial in occurrence.

5.5.10 Word final occurrence of Case Suffixes

	<u>Example</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
Accusative	kaṇapati-y-e	'Kaṇapati (pr.n. acc.)'
Instrumental	kaṇapati-y-aale	'Kaṇapati (pr.n. ins.)'
Sociative	Kaṇapati-y-oo[le	'Kaṇapati (pr.n. soc.)'
Dative	Kaṇapati-(u)kku	'Kaṇapati (pr.n. dat.)'
	etc.	

5.5.11 Medial occurrence of Case Suffixes

<u>Example</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
kaṇapati-y-e-y-ee	'is it Kaṇapati? (acc.)'
kaṇapati-y-e-y-oo	" " " "
kaṇapati-y-e-y-um	'Kaṇapati (acc.) and'
kaṇapati-y-e-p-paRRi	'about Kaṇapati (acc.)'
kaṇapati-y-i[te-y-iruntu	'Kaṇapati (abl.)'

5.5.12 Thus it is evident that the nominal stem takes gender , number , case suffixes , interrogative suffixes and certain particles (-um and -taan). The stem can either take all of them or one of them. If it takes more than one there is a certain ordering of items other than -ee or -oo or -um or -taan which is necessarily final. All others can be medial or final as the case may be. -ee , -oo , -um and -taan are mutually contrastive. The order in which the suffixes and particles discussed hitherto occur within the nominals is illustrated as

follows:

STEM (+ Gender) (+ Plural) (+ Case) (+ Particle)
(+ Interrogative)
suffix

e.g. tami[-an] 'a Tamil (mas.)'
 tami[-ar] 'Tamils'
 tami[-ukku] 'Tamil language (dat.)'
 tami[-um] 'Tamil language and'
 tami[-taan] 'Tamil language indeed'
 tami[-ee] 'is it Tamil language?'
 tami[-oo] " " " "
 tami[-an-ka][-e-y-um] 'Tamils (mas. acc.) and'
 tami[-an-ka][-e-t-taan] 'Tamils (mas. acc.) indeed'
 tami[-an-ka][-e-y-ee] 'is it Tamils (acc.)'
 tami[-an-ka][-e-y-oo] " " " "

5.5.13 Number of Constituent Syllables

The majority of the nominal suffixes are monosyllabic in structure. A few of them are either disyllabic or trisyllabic as can be seen from the following examples.

Monosyllabic

5.5.14 Verbal Noun Suffix

<u>maRa-t-i</u>	'forgetfulness'	,	<u>veer-ve</u>	'sweat'
<u>nil-e</u>	'door frame'	,	<u>aRi-vu</u>	'knowledge'
<u>ki i-y-al</u>	'rent'	,	<u>tool-vi</u>	'defeat'
<u>nil-am</u>	'ground'	,	<u>ko u-p-pu</u>	'fat'

kilukilu-p-pe 'rattle' , vaa[-k-ke 'life'
 vari-c-cu 'line' , var-a-ttu 'coming'
 ku[ir-c-ci 'liberality' , vel-ti→veRRi [ʊet:i] 'victory'
 peru-me 'pride' , uRu[-tu→uRu[ʔu 'rolling'
 cooti-ne 'examination' , civa-le 'a person of fair
 complexion'

5.5.15 Adverbial Suffix

koovam-aay (-p-peecinaan) 'he spoke angrily'

5.5.16 Adjectival Suffix

pull-aam (ku[al) 'flute'
 cunnaaka-ttu (-k-ki[an]ku) 'yam from Cunnaakam'

5.5.17 Gender and Number Suffixes

a-v-an 'he' , a-v-a['she' , a-v-ar 'he (hon.)'
 a-v-a [ʌʊə] 'she (hon.)' , pee-cc-i 'a fool (fem.)'
 kare-y-aan 'a man of the fisherman's caste'
 kare-y-aa['a woman of the fisherman's caste'
 ka[an-kaar-an 'creditor' , a-tu 'that thing'
 a-v-an-ka['they (mas.)' , a-v-e [ʌʊe] 'they'
 vaatti-maar 'teachers' , a-tu-ka['those things'

5.5.18 Relative Participial Suffix

pa[ikkiR-a (pe[tiyan) 'a boy who is studying'

Disyllabic

5.5.19 Verbal Noun Suffix

ceer-maanam 'relation' , vi[ut-ale 'holiday'
 poR-aame 'jealousy' , var-u-mati 'what is due'

5.5.20 Abstract Nominal Suffix

aRpa-t-tanam 'meanness'

5.5.21 Animate (+hum.) gender Suffix

tiRame-caali 'a skilled person'

5.5.22 Adjectival Suffix

arume-y-aana (kaRi) 'excellent (curry)'

5.5.23 Agentive Suffixpaamp-aa^{ti} 'snake charmer'5.5.24 Case Suffixavan-aale 'he (ins.)', avan-oo^{te} 'he (soc.)'

avan-ukku 'he (dat.)', avan-inre 'he (gen.)'

avan-i^{tt}te 'he (loc.)', puu-v-ile 'flower (loc.)'umm-a^{te} 'you (hon. gen.)'5.5.25 avan-e-p-paRRi 'about him'Trisyllabic5.5.26 Numeral (Ordinal) Suffixee[-aavatu (vii^{tu}) 'seventh(house)'5.5.27 Post positionavan-i^{tt}e-y-iruntu 'he (abl.)'5.5.28 Monosyllabic Suffixes

Monosyllabic suffixes in the language may be
C-initial or non-C initial.

5.5.29

C-initial

<u>Example</u>	<u>Suffix</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
ta [†] i-p-p <u>u</u>	b ² _{PI} ^W	'thickness'
kilukilu-p-p <u>e</u>	b _{PE} ^Y	'rattle'
a-t <u>u</u>	d _{PI} ^W	'that thing'
cuRu]-t <u>u</u> → curu [†] ttu	-"]	'cigar'
vel-t <u>i</u> → veRRi [ʋet:i]	d _{PI} ^Y	'victory'
var-a-t <u>tu</u>	d _{PI} ^W	'coming'
eccari-k-k <u>e</u>	v _{PE} ^Y	'warning'
pa [†] am-k <u>a</u>]	v _{PA} ⁰ r _L	'pictures'
miin-kaar-a <u>n</u>	-PA ⁰ f _L	'fish seller'

2. The superscripts in small letters, b , d , a , f , r , p , -p and v used in the description of suffix structures represent bilabial , dental , alveolar , flap , retroflex , palatal , non-palatal and velar articulations respectively.

muti-c-cu	$-QI^W$	'knot'
atir-c-ci	$-QI^Y$	'shock'
cooti-ne	a_{NE}^Y	'decoration'
ini-me	b_{NE}^Y	'sweetness'
tampi-maar	$b_{NA}^0 f_L$	'younger brothers'
civa-le	a_{LE}^Y	'a person of fair complexion'
tool-vi	$-p^4$ $-ZI^Y$	'defeat'
eri-vu	$-p$ $-ZI^W$	'burning sensation'
koor-ve	$-p$ $-ZE^Y$	'bunch'

-
3. The symbol Q stands for a short voiceless affricate articulation (See 3.11.2 and footnote 9).
4. The symbol Z stands for a short continuant articulation (See 3.11.2 and footnote 9).

5.5.30

Non-C initial

<u>Example</u>	<u>Suffix</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
aa] + <u>e</u>	⁵ -E ^Y	'person (acc.)'
vicar- <u>i</u>	-I ^Y	'a mad woman'
a-v- <u>a</u> [ʌ ^o ə]	-A ^W	'she (hon.)'
va]e-y- <u>am</u>	-A ^o b _N	'ring'
maRi-y- <u>al</u>	-A ^o a _L	'imprisonment'
tami]- <u>ar</u>	-A ^o f _L	'Tamils'
tami]- <u>an</u>	-A ^o a _N	'a Tamil(mas.)'
civi-y- <u>aar</u>	-A ^o f _L	'those of the palan- quin bearer's caste'
civi-y- <u>aan</u>	-A ^o a _N	'a man of the palan- quin bearer's caste'
civi-y- <u>aal</u>	-A ^o r _L	'a woman of the palan- quin bearer's caste'
kavanam- <u>aay</u> (-p-pa[i])	-A ^o p _Z	'study carefully'
mutal- <u>aam</u> (muRe)	-A ^o b _N	'first time'

5.5.31

Suffix Initial C-units

The following types of C-units have been stated

5. See section 3.10 of Chapter 3 for a discussion on the prosodic characteristics of V-units.

in one or other of the suffix structures.

Plosive

Labial	ku <u>l</u> i-p-p <u>u</u>	'bathing'
Dental	e-t <u>u</u>	'which thing?'
Velar	veRi-kaar-an	'an intoxicated man'

Affricate

Palatal	vari-c-c <u>u</u>	'fence line'
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Nasal

Labial	nees-m <u>aar</u>	'nurses'
Alveolar	yoo <u>ci-ne</u>	'thought'

Continuant

Labial	muRi-v <u>u</u>	'fracture'
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5.5.32

Suffix Final C-units

The suffix final C-units occur in monosyllabic and disyllabic suffixes that are either C-initial or non-C initial.

5.5.33

Non-C initial and C-final

Nasal

Labial	neer-a <u>m</u>	'time'
Alveolar	ma <u>t</u> e-y-a <u>n</u>	'a fool (mas.)'

Liquid

Flapped	tami <u>l</u> -a <u>r</u>	'Tamils'
Alveolar Lateral	va <u>t</u> e-y-a <u>l</u>	'bangle'
Retroflex Lateral	e-v-a <u>l</u>	'which person (fem.)'

Continuant

Palatal	cari-y-a <u>ay</u> (iru)	'sit properly'
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5.5.34

C-initial and C-finalC-final

Initial	<u>Nasal</u>	'decision'
Labial	tiir- <u>maan</u> am	'decision'
	<u>Liquid</u>	
Flapped	epciniyar- <u>ma</u> ar	'engineers'
Retroflex Lateral	cillu- <u>ka</u> l	'wheels'

C-initial (and C final)Plosive

Dental	ke ^t ti-t- <u>tan</u> am	'cleverness'
Velar	paan- <u>ka</u> ar-an	'bread seller'

Nasal

Labial	var-u- <u>ma</u> anam	'income'
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5.6

Vocalic Elements in Suffix StructuresMonosyllabic Suffixes

5.6.1 The vocalic elements in all C-initial monosyllabic suffixes are generalized thus:

\underline{b}_{PI}^W	na ^t i-p- <u>pu</u>	'acting'
\underline{b}_{PE}^Y	kilukilu-p- <u>pe</u>	'rattle'
\underline{d}_{PI}^Y	vel- <u>ti</u> → veRRi [ʊet:i]	'victory'
\underline{d}_{PI}^W	tira ^l - <u>tu</u> → tira ^l tu	'collection'

$\bar{d}\text{-PI}^W$	mallaaka- <u>ttu</u> (pas)	'bus to Mallaakam'
$\bar{v}\text{-PE}^Y$	nampi-k- <u>ke</u>	'hope'
$\bar{v}\text{-PA}^O \text{ } r_L$	cappaattu- <u>ka</u>]	'shoes'
$\text{-PA}^O \text{ } f_L$	ku[<u>i-kaar</u> -an	'a drunkard'
-QI^Y	uyar-c- <u>ci</u>	'rise'
-QI^W	mu[<u>i-c-cu</u>	'knot'
$\bar{b}\text{-NE}^Y$	poRu- <u>me</u>	'patience'
$\bar{b}\text{-NA}^O \text{ } f_L$	vitaane- <u>maar</u>	'headmen'
$\bar{a}\text{-NE}^Y$	aalooci- <u>ne</u>	'counsel'
$\bar{a}\text{-LE}^Y$	civa- <u>le</u>	'a person of fair complexion'

5.6.2 The monosyllabic non-C initial suffixes are generalized thus:

$\text{-A}^O \text{ } b_N$	nil- <u>am</u>	'ground'
$\text{-A}^O \text{ } b_N$	mutal- <u>aam</u> (ka[<u>e</u>)	'first (shop)'
$\text{-A}^O \text{ } a_N$	ciŋka[<u>a-v-an</u>	'a Sinhalese (mas.)'
$\text{-A}^O \text{ } a_N$	caŋkaane-y- <u>aan</u>	'a man residing at Caŋkaane'
$\text{-A}^O \text{ } a_L$	kaa-v-al	'watch'

- A⁰ f_L timil-ar 'members of a sub-caste of
fisherman'
- A⁰ f_L kokkuvil-aar 'those residing at Kokkuvil'
- A⁰ r_L cankaane-y-aa] 'she who is residing at
Cankaane'
- A⁰ p_Z keti-y-aay (-p-poo) 'go quickly'

5.6.3 The following monosyllabic suffixes are
V-initial.

- E^Y avan-e 'he (acc.)'
- E^Y avan-ee 'he (itg.)'
- I^Y aRutal-i 'widow'
- I^W avan-oo 'he (itg.)'
- W a-v-a [ʌʊə] 'she (hon.)'

Disyllabic Suffixes

5.6.4 The vocalic elements in all C-initial disyllabic
suffixes are generalized thus:

- b_{PA}⁰ a_{PI}^Y ava]-e-p-paRRi 'about her'
- d_{PA}⁰ a_{NA}⁰ b_N ma]e-t-tanam 'foolishness'
- b_{NA}⁰ d_{FI}^Y ko]-mati 'cost price'
- b_{NA}⁰ a_{NA}⁰ b_N pa]i-maanam 'obedience'

$a_{FA}^0 a_{LI}^Y$ muu]e-caali 'an intelligent person'

5.6.5 As can be seen from the above examples, the C-initial disyllabic suffixes are few in number. Of the five suffixes only two are C-final.

5.6.6 The vocalic elements in all non-C initial disyllabic suffixes are generalized thus:

$-A^0 a_{LE}^Y$	ayyaa-v- <u>aale</u>	'father (ins.)'
$-E^W r_{XE}^6$	ayyaa-v-oo <u>te</u>	'father (soc.)'
$-I^W v_{PI}^W$	ayyaa-v- <u>ukku</u>	'father (dat.)'
$-I^Y a_N a_{PE}^Y$	ayyaa-v- <u>inre</u>	'father (gen.)'
$-I^Y r_{PE}^Y$	ayyaa-v-i <u>tte</u>	'father (loc.)'
$-I^Y a_{LE}^Y$	katire-y- <u>ile</u>	'chair (loc.)'
$-A^0 r_{XE}^Y$	umm-a <u>te</u>	'you (hon. gen.)'
$-A^0 a_{NA}^0$	kuur- <u>aana</u> (katti)	'sharp knife'
$-A^0 r_{PI}^Y$	kurank-aa <u>tti</u>	'monkey trainer'

6. The symbol X with the superscript r placed over it indicates a short voiced retroflex flap articulation.

$-A^0 \overset{-p}{Z} E^Y$ $ava[-ave$ 'they (fem.)'

$-A^0 a_{LE}^Y$ $vi[u-t-ale$ 'holiday'

$-A^0 b_{NE}^Y$ $poR-aame$ 'jealousy'

5.6.7 All the above non-C initial suffixes end in a vocalic articulation.

Trisyllabic Suffixes

5.6.8 The vocalic elements in the two non-C initial and final trisyllabic suffixes are generalized thus:

$-A^0 \overset{-p}{Z} A^0 d_{FI}^W$ $mutal-aavatu$ (ta[tu) 'first shelf'

$-I^Y f_{LI}^W d_N d_{PI}^W$ $aa[-i[tte-y-iruntu$ 'person (abl.)'

5.6.9 The following types of C-unit constitute the interludes between the two syllable-nuclei in disyllabic suffixes. Nasal

Labial $poR-aame$ 'jealousy'

Alveolar $va[am-aana$ (kay) 'dexterous hand'

Liquid

Alveolar Lateral $pariyaari-y-aale$ 'native physician (ins.)'

Retroflex Flap $pariyaari-y-oo[t_e$ [pa:rija:rijo:te] 'native physician (soc.)'

Fricative

Dental tar-u-mati 'what is due'

Continuant

Labial tampi-ave 'younger brother and others'

-F-

Alveolar meen-e-p-paRRi 'about son'

Retroflex anne-y-itte 'elder brother (loc.)'

Velar naa]-ukku 'day (dat.)'

-NP-

Alveolar nonti-y-inre [nondijints] 'a lame
person (gen.)'

CHAPTER 6

6

JUNCTION STRUCTURES

6.1

General Remarks

6.1.1 The nominal stem and one or more suffixes occurring after it comprise the grammatical or morphological elements of nominal forms discussed in this thesis. When abstraction has been made of the morphological elements comprising a nominal form, namely, stems and suffixes, there yet remain certain features of interrelation between them and they have to be accounted for; these interrelations will be set up in this thesis as prosodies of junction. Junction is a phonological abstraction which is held to account for certain phonological features which can be stated neither as characteristic of the stem nor of any of the suffixes in a nominal form. The phonological elements of structure statable in handling junction in nominal forms in Jaffna Tamil may be prosodic or phonematic or both. A summary of the salient aspects of the interrelations of the two grammatical elements, namely, stem and suffix, is given in this chapter. In instances where the interrelations between stem and suffix of the marginal class are different from those of the native class, a separate treatment of such interrelations is accorded. A more detailed account of the interrelations

between stems and suffixes can be found in their proper context in the chapter on Phonological Shape of the Nominal in relation to Grammatical Categories.

6.1.2 In discussing junction prosodies, partial phonological formulae necessary to describe them will be set out. Examples will be chosen mostly from monosyllabic, disyllabic and trisyllabic nominals, since as far as junction prosodies are concerned, the systems statable for quadrisyllabic and pentasyllabic nominals will be similar. Syllable prosodies of frontness, backness and absence of frontness and backness will be marked in the formulae with the superscript Y, W, O respectively.

6.2 Syllabic or Non-Syllabic Junction

6.2.1 The syllables that are in junction may be characterized by the prosodic feature of either syllabicity or absence of syllabicity between the grammatical elements concerned. Therefore, syllabicity and the absence of syllabicity are considered as comprising a two-term junctional prosodic system bearing relevance to the different types of junction described in this work.

6.2.2 Syllabic junction is always marked by a feature such as the presence of a vocalic element. See examples, tar-u-mati 'what is due', taans-u-ka 'dances' etc., explained below in 6.2.4.

6.2.3 Non-syllabic junction falls into two types. In type (1) a consonantal junctional element is involved. In Jaffna Tamil, nominal forms involving junctional elements predominate over forms in which either syllabic or non-syllabic junction are not involved. Of the forms for which junctional elements are statable, those involving non-syllabic junction exceed in number those involving syllabic junction. Because syllabic junction is found only between C final stem and C initial suffix, the instances of which are few in the language. Therefore the junction between non-C final stem and C initial suffix, C final stem and non-C initial suffix, etc., is more productive than the junction between C final stem and C initial stem. The syllabic junction is limited to a few instances in which the stem plus either verbal noun suffix or certain class of nominals (like those of CVC pattern or with -CC final etc.) plus suffixes are involved (See 6.6.29 , 6.6.31 , 6.6.33 and 7.4.38).

6.2.4 A. Syllabic Junction

Between C final stem and C initial suffix

	<u>Stem</u>	<u>Jtn.</u>	<u>Suffix</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
tar-u-mati [tʌɾumʌɖi]	CVC	-I ^W	b _{NA} ^O d _{PI} ^Y	'what is due'
var-a-ttu [vʌɾʌt:tɪ]	"	-A ^O	d _{PI} ^W	'coming'

†aans-u-ka] CVC -I^W + g¹ v_{PA}⁰ r_L 'dances'

6.2.5

B. Non-Syllabic Junction(1) Junction between Stem and Suffix

(a) Between C final Stem and C initial Suffix.

	<u>Stem</u>	<u>Jtn.</u>	<u>Suffix</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
e.g. kaar-ka] [ka:rha]	CVC	g	v _{PA} ⁰ r _L	'cars'
maasrar-maar [ma:stərma:r]	CVCVC	g ²	b _{NA} ⁰ f _L	'masters'
vaa[-vu [ʋa:ʋw]	CVC	"	-p ^W -z ^W	'conjugal happiness'

(b) Between non-C final Stem and C initial Suffix.

	<u>Stem</u>	<u>Jtn.</u>	<u>Suffix</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
e.g. tampi-maar [tambima:r]	CVNCV	g	b _{NA} ⁰ f _L	'younger brothers'
pa†i-p-pu [pʌ†ip:w]	CVCV	g ³	b _{PI} ^W	'study'

(c) Between C final Stem and non-C initial Suffix.

	<u>Stem</u>	<u>Jtn.</u>	<u>Suffix</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
e.g. vi†al-an [ʋi†ʌlən]	CVCVC	g	-A ⁰ a _N	'a useless man'
tira[-e [ti†ʌ]e]	"	"	-E ^Y	'ball'

1. See 6.5.3

2. See 6.5.7

3. See 6.5.3

(d) Between non-C final Stem and non-C initial Suffix.

	<u>Stem</u>	<u>Jtn.</u>	<u>Suffix</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
e.g.	paRaŋki-cc-i [paRaŋgit:i]	CVCVNCV	-Q- -I ^Y	'a Burgher (fem.)'
	maRa-t-i [maRaɔi]	CVCV	^d -F- "	'forgetfulness'

(2) Junction between Suffixes

6.2.6 Non-Syllabic

(a) Between C final Suffix and C initial Suffix.

	<u>Suffix 1</u>	<u>Jtn.</u>	<u>Suffix 2</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
e.g.	pe [†] i-y-an-ka []] [pe [†] iɟaŋgə []]	-A ⁰ a _N	h ⁴ v _{PA} ⁰ r _L	'boys'
	ko []] uv-al-ka []] [ko []] uɔalɥə []]	-A ⁰ a _L	ɟ "	'quarrels'

(b) Between C final Suffix and non-C initial Suffix.

	<u>Suffix 1</u>	<u>Jtn.</u>	<u>Suffix 2</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
e.g.	pi []] e-ka []] -e [pi []] ɛjə []] ɛ]	v _{PA} ⁰ r _L	/ -E ^Y	'mistakes (acc.)'
	a-v-an-oo [ʌɔəno:]	-A ⁰ a _N	" -E ^W	'he (itg.)'

(c) Between non-C final Suffix and C initial Suffix.

	<u>Suffix 1</u>	<u>Jtn.</u>	<u>Suffix 2</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
e.g.	putti-caali-t-tanam [put:isa:lit:ʌnəm]	a _{FA} ⁻⁰ a _{LI} ^Y	g ^d -PA ⁰ a _{NA} ⁰ b _N	'intelligence'

kol-e-ka] -E^Y ɛ ʔ^{PA} ʔ^L 'murders'
 [kolɛhə]

(d) Between non-C final Suffix and non-C initial Suffix.

	<u>Suffix 1</u>	<u>Jtn.</u>	<u>Suffix 2</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
e.g. pe[i-cc-i-y-aale [pe[ɪt:ʃɪja:lɛ]	-I ^Y	Y	-A ⁰ a _{LE} ^Y	'girl (ins.)'
kumar-i-y-i[ɪe [kumʌɪɪjiɪ:ɛ]	"	"	-I ^Y r _{PE} ^Y	'spinster (loc.)'

6.3

Junction Elements

6.3.1 It has already been explained that the junctional element involved in a syllabic junction will be a vocalic element, and that involved in a non-syllabic junction will be either a C unit or zero. In many instances of non-syllabic junction, the junctional element statable is characterized either by a short palatal or a labio-dental continuant (See 7.2.14, 7.2.17-7.2.18, 7.2.24-7.2.26, 7.4.10 and 7.4.13). The long dental plosive and the affricate are the only two C units from the plosive and affricate systems that occur as junctional elements. These two C units occur quite freely as junctional elements in nominal forms (See 7.2.33, 7.2.35, 7.2.41 and 7.2.88). Instances where a C unit involving a term from either the fricative or the nasal system are few in number. The short dental fricative and the velar nasal are the only two C units that occur as

junctional elements from the fricative and nasal systems, respectively. The short velar nasal as a junctional element is the least productive of forms. All these statements are illustrated below.

6.4. Junctional Elements statable in handling
Inter-Relations of Stems and Suffixes

6.4.1 The first to be taken among junctional elements is the one involving a short palatal continuant articulation. The phonological structure of this junctional element may be expressed in formulae as $\overset{p}{-Z-}$. This junction involves stems with $-V$ final endings and suffixes with an initial vocalic element. The grammatical categories for which this junctional element is statable are (1) verbal noun (2) nominals used adverbially and adjectivally (3) gender and number (4) case.

Category	Rdg.Tpn.	St.Fn.	J.E.	S.I.	Gloss
Verbal Noun	avi-y-al [ʌʋijəl]	$-I^Y$	$\overset{p}{-Z-}$	A^O	'a boiled curry'
Adverb	puttiyaay [put:ija:j]	"	"	\overline{A}^O	'intelligently'
Adjective	pi e-y-aana [pi ɛja:nʌ]	$-E^Y$	"	"	'that which is not correct'
Gender and Number	pee-y-an [pe:jən]	$-\overline{E}^Y$	"	A^O	'a fool (mas.)'

Case	caami-y-i ^t te	-I ^Y	"	I ^Y	'god (loc.)'
	[sa:miji ^t :ε]				

TABLE 6.1

6.4.2 The second junctional element which is to be considered is a short labio-dental continuant and it may be given the formulaic expression $\overset{-p}{-Z-}$. The grammatical categories for which it is statable are (1) verbal noun (2) nominals used adverbially and adjectivally (3) participial noun (4) pronoun and (5) case.

Category	Rdg.Tpn.	St.Fn.J.E.	S.I.	Gloss	
Verbal Noun	para-v-al [paʀʌʋəɪ]	-A ⁰	^{-p} -Z-	A ⁰	'that which is spread'
Adverb	pu[u-v-aay [pu]uəa:j]	-I ^W	"	A ⁰	'as a worm'
Adjective	caatu-v-aana [sa:ðuəa:nʌ]	"	"	"	'that which is calm'
Participial Noun	vaaRa-v-an [əa:rʌʋən]	-A ⁰	"	A ⁰	'he who comes'
Pronoun	a-v-an [ʌʋən]	"	"	"	'he'
Case	ammaa-v-aale [ʌm:a:əa:lɛ]	-A ⁰	"	A ⁰	'mother (ins.)'

TABLE 6.2

6.4.3 The third junctional element to be considered is

the one that is expressible in phonological formulae as $-\bar{Q}-$. The articulation involved is a long tense voiceless affricate articulation. The junction involves stems with $-V$ final endings and suffixes with an initial vocalic element. The grammatical categories to be taken into account are (1) verbal noun and (2) gender.

Category	Rdg.Tpn.	St.Fn.	J.E.	S.I.	Gloss
Verbal Noun	pu i-cc-al [pu it:ə1]	$-I^Y$	$-\bar{Q}-$	A^O	'that which is stale'
Gender	ce [†] i-cc-i [se it:ɿ1]	"	"	I^Y	'a woman of the merchant caste'

TABLE 6.3

6.4.4 The fourth junctional element expressible in phonological formulae as $\underline{d}\bar{P}-$ involves a long tense voiceless plosive articulation. In this junction, the stem may be either $-V$ final or C final and the suffix elements are vocalic. This junctional element is to be stated for (1) verbal noun (2) gender (3) noun of origin of place and (4) case.

Category	Rdg.Tpn.	St.Fn.	J.E.	S.I.	Gloss
Verbal Noun	pa u-tt-al [p^ ut:ə1]	$-I^W$	$\underline{d}\bar{P}-$	A^O	'sear'

Gender	vanṇaa-tt-i [ʋʌŋ:a:t:i]	-A ⁰	d _P -	I ^Y	'a woman of the washerman's caste'
Noun of Origin of Place	cunnaaka(m)-tt-aan [sun:a:hʌt:a:n]	b _N	"	A ⁰	'a man residing at Cunnaakam'
Case	kunṇa(m)-tt-i ^{††} [kunʌt:i ^{†:ε}]	"	"	I ^Y	'Kunam(pr.n.dat.)'

TABLE 6.4

6.4.5 The fifth junctional element expressible in phonological formulae as d_P- is statable for the categories of (1) verbal noun and (2) gender. The articulation involved is a short dental fricative articulation. In this junction, the stems are -V final and the suffix initial elements are vocalic.

Category	Rdg.Tpn.	St.Fn.J.E.	S.I.	Gloss	
Verbal	maRa-t-i	-A ^O	d _F -	I ^Y	'forgetfulness'
Noun	[maɾaɔ̌i]				
Gender	oru-t-i	-I ^W	"	"	'a woman'
	[oruɔ̌i]				

TABLE 6.5

6.4.6 The sixth junctional element to be considered is the one that may be expressed in phonological formulae as v_N-. The articulation involved is a short velar one. The stem is -V final and the suffix is C initial. The only

category for which this junctional element is statable is pronoun.

Category	Rdg.Tpn.	St.Fn.J.E.	S.I.	Gloss
Pronoun	nii-ŋ-ka] [ni:ŋgə]	-ī ^Y	V _N -	V _P -
				'you (pl.)'

TABLE 6.6

6.5 JUNCTIONAL PROSODIC SYSTEMS

6.5.1 The junctional prosodic system of syllabicity and its absence has already been mentioned (See 6.2).

Apart from this two-term system, six more junctional prosodic systems are set up in this thesis.

6.5.2 The first of these six systems is a two-term one with Y or W as the terms constituting its system. Phonetically, a Y-prosodic junction is characterized by frontness of articulation and lip spreading and W-prosodic junction by backness of articulation.

6.5.3 The junctional prosodic system of gemination is to be considered next. It also comprises two terms, namely, the prosodies of gemination (symbolised as g) and its absence (symbolised as ġ). In general terms, the phonetic implications of these two terms are as follows:

g-prosody is characterized by a long, tense,

voiceless articulation which, in most instances, is a plosive.

g-prosody is characterized by a lax voiced articulation.

6.5.4 Each of the four remaining junctional prosodic systems comprises one term. The one term junctional prosodic system with the prosody symbolised as q implies that velarity and plosive quality are replaced by frontness of articulation and lip spreading.

6.5.5 The junctional prosodic system of homorganicity (symbolised as h) implies phonetically a homorganic nasal articulation before a plosive articulation.

6.5.6 The junctional prosodic system of voicing (symbolised by the subscript +v) implies phonetically a period of vibration of the vocal cords during the articulation of a plosive following a nasal.

6.5.7 The last of the one-term junctional prosodic systems is the one symbolised as / and the carrying the implication of non-relevance of Y , W , g , ʒ , q , h and +v .

6.6 STEM-SUFFIX JUNCTION

6.6.1 Nominal stems taken for analysis in this work have been classified either as C final or as non-C final. Similarly suffixes can be classified as C final or as non-C final. Therefore the possibilities of interrelations revealed through the juxtaposition of structural elements fall under the following four-fold classification:

1. Non-C final stem + Non-C initial suffix.
2. Non-C final stem + C initial suffix.
3. C final stem + Non-C initial suffix.
4. C final stem + C initial suffix.

These types will be taken up for consideration one by one in this order.

(1) Non-C final stem + Non-C initial suffix

6.6.2 The junction prosodic systems statable for inter-relations between non-C final stems and non-C initial suffixes are only two, namely, Y or W prosodic. When the stem final -V is in the close range or in the mid range, it is possible to predict which of the two junction prosodies Y or W will occur. Thus if the stem-final articulation is a front vowel either in the close range or in the mid range, the junction is Y-prosodic, characterized phonetically by a palatal continuant.

$$\begin{Bmatrix} -I^Y \\ -E^Y \end{Bmatrix} + V \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} -I^Y \\ -E^Y \end{Bmatrix} \quad Y \quad V-$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.Fn.Jtn.	S.I.	Gloss
ku[i-y-aale [ku[ija:lɛ]	-I ^Y	Y	\overline{A}^0 'addiction to liquor (ins.)'
ve[i-y-ile [ʋe[ijilɛ]	"	"	I ^Y 'outside (loc.)'

ku[e-y-oo]e [ku[εjo:][ε]	-E ^Y	Y	E ^W	'umbrella (soc.)'
pi][e-y-aay [pi]:εja:j]	"	"	A ^O	'as a child'
pee-y-an [pe:jən]	-E ^Y	"	A ^O	'a fool (mas.)'
kare-y-aan [kʌreja:n]	-E ^Y	"	A ^O	'a man of the fisherman's caste'
veelane-y-aa] [ʋe:lʌneja:]	"	"	"	'a woman residing at Veelane'

TABLE 6.7

6.6.3 If the stem-final vowel articulation is either a back vowel in the close range or a front vowel in the open range, the junction is W-prosodic, characterized phonetically by a labio-dental continuant.

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} -\bar{I}^W \\ -\bar{A}^O \end{array} \right\} + V- \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} -\bar{I}^W \\ -\bar{A}^O \end{array} \right\} \quad W \quad V-$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.Fn.	Jtn.	S.I.	Gloss
puu-v-ile [pu:ʋilɛ]	-I ^W	W	I ^Y	'flower (loc.)'
kiyuu-v-ile [kiju:ʋilɛ]	"	"	"	'queue (loc.)'

teru-v-aale [teruʋa:lɛ]	-I ^W	W	\overline{A}^O	'road (ins.)'
a-v-e [ʌʋɛ]	A ^O	"	E ^Y	'those people'
ayyaa-v-oo [†] e [ʌj:a:ʋo:ɛ]	-A ^O	"	\overline{E}^W	'father (soc.)'
patmaa-v-e [pʌtma:ʋɛ]	"	"	E ^Y	'Patmaa (pr.n. acc.)'
kaRu-v-al [kʌrʋəɭ]	-I ^W	"	A ^O	'that which is black'

TABLE 6.8

6.6.4 Thus there is harmony between the prosodic character of the stem final syllable and the junction prosody.

6.6.5 It is also of interest to note here that verbal noun forms whose stems are -V final, and in which the verbal noun suffix -al occurs sometimes show a diphthongal articulation as a junction feature between the stem and the verbal noun suffix. Thus the verbal nouns such as avi-y-al 'a boiled curry', kuvi-y-al 'heap', kaRu-v-al 'that which is black' etc., are sometimes pronounced avi-al [ʌʋiɭ], kuvi-al [kuʋiɭ], kaRu-al [kʌrʋɭ], respectively.

(2) Non-C final stem + C initial suffix

6.6.6 These types of structural element are characterized by different junctional prosodies. The various prosodies involved in these junctions are as follows:

6.6.7 (a) The internal junction between all types of non-C final stems and C initial suffixes beginning either with a plosive or an affricate is characterized by g-prosody in the following instances (See 6.5.3).

$$-V + \begin{Bmatrix} P- \\ Q- \end{Bmatrix} \rightarrow -V + \begin{Bmatrix} \overline{P}- \\ \overline{Q}- \end{Bmatrix}$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.Fn.	Jtn.	S.I.	Gloss
va-k-kaar-i [θæk:a:ri]	-A ^Y	g	^V P-	'an argumentative type of woman'
ka [†] e-k-kaar-an [kʌ [†] εk:a:ɾən]	"	"	"	'shop keeper'
eŋ [†] e-k-kaar-an [eŋ [†] εk:a:ɾən]	"	"	"	'oil seller'
pi [†] e-p-pu [pi [†] εp:u]	"	"	^b P-	'livelihood'
poRu-p-pu [porup:u]	-I ^W	"	"	'responsibility'

pu <u>l</u> u-k-ka <u>l</u> [pu <u>l</u> uk:ə <u>l</u>]	-I ^W	g	^v P-	'worms'
pa <u>l</u> u-k-ke [p <u>^</u> uk:ε]	"	"	"	'bed'
Riccoo-k-kaar-an [rit:ʃo:k:a:fən]	-E ^W	"	"	'a rickshaw puller'
<u>l</u> ippoo-k-ka <u>l</u> [dip:ok:ə <u>l</u>]	"	"	"	'depots'
ta <u>ŋ</u> i-k-kaar-an [t <u>^</u> ŋ:ik:a:fən]	-I ^Y	"	"	'an alcoholic'
ve <u>l</u> i-p-pu [ʊe <u>l</u> ip:u]	"	"	^b P-	'crack'
ke <u>l</u> <u>l</u> i-t-tanam [ke <u>l</u> :it:ʌnəm]	"	"	^d P-	'cleverness'
eccari-k-ke [et:ʃ <u>^</u> ik:ε]	"	"	^v P-	'warning'
pira <u>l</u> i-k-kaar-an [pi <u>l</u> <u>^</u> ik:a:fən]	"	"	"	'a mischievous person'
mu <u>l</u> i-c-cu [mu <u>l</u> it:ʃu]	"	"	Q-	'knot'
vari-c-cu [ʊ <u>^</u> rit:ʃu]	"	"	"	'fence line'
na <u>l</u> a-p-pu [n <u>^</u> <u>l</u> <u>^</u> p:u]	-A ^O	"	^b P-	'haughtiness'

kanaa-k-ka]	\bar{A}^0	g	v_{P-}	'dreams'
[kʌnʌ:k:ə]				
piippaa-k-ka]	"	"	"	'barrels'
[pi:p:a:k:ə]				
kameRaa-k-ka]	"	"	"	'cameras'
[kʌmɛrʌ:k:ə]				

TABLE 6.9

6.6.8 (b) The internal junction between Y-prosodic stem and C initial suffix beginning with a plosive is characterized by q prosody (See 6.5.4 and 7.2.100) in the following instances.

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} -A^Y \\ -I^Y \\ -E^Y \end{array} \right\} + v_{P-} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} -A^Y \\ -I^Y \\ -E^Y \end{array} \right\} Y-$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.Fn.	Jtn.	S.I.	Gloss
va-ka]	$-A^Y$	q	v_{P-}	'mouths'
[ʋəjə]				
pi]e-ka]	$-E^Y$	"	"	'mistakes'
[pi]ɛjə]				
tolle-ka]	"	"	"	'troubles'
[tol:ɛjə]				
vi]utale-ka]	"	"	"	'holidays'
[ʋi]ʊðʌlɛjə]				

pe ^t [i-ka] [pe ^t :ijə]	-I ^Y	q	^v P-	'boxes'
ca ⁿ ti-ka [sa ⁿ ndijə]	"	"	"	'junctions'
yaari-ka [ja:rijə]	"	"	"	'equals'
caa ^t ci-ka [sa: ^t t ^s ijə]	"	"	"	'witnesses'
paRa ⁿ ki-ka [pa ⁿ raŋgijə]	"	"	"	'Burghers'

TABLE 6.10

6.6.9 (c) The internal junction between C variable stems that are W-prosodic in their nominative forms and a plosive initial plural suffix is characterized by g prosody (See 6.5.3 and 7.2.104).

$$-I^W + {}^vP- \rightarrow -I^W + \text{g}_F^5-$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.Fn.	Jtn.	S.I.	Gloss
aaRu-ka [a:ruhə]	-I ^W	g	^v P-	'rivers'
oo ^t u-ka [o: ^t uhə]	"	"	"	'tiles'

5. The superscript g stands for a glottal articulation.

kaacu-ka] [ka:smhə]	-I ^W	g	v _P -	'money'
mu]]u-ka] mu]:uhə]	"	"	"	'thorns'
cii]]u-ka] [si:]:uhə]	"	"	"	'lots'
a]]aattu-ka] [a]:t:uhə]	"	"	"	'improper actions'
cuRu]]u-ka] [suru]:uhə]	"	"	"	'cigars'
vi]ayaa]]u-ka] [vi]a]:uhə]	"	"	"	'sports'

TABLE 6.11

6.6.10 (d) Most of the stems described above take a gender suffix beginning with a plosive which is followed by a long vocalic element. It is interesting to note that the internal junction between such stems and this C initial suffix is characterized by g prosody. In other words, the junctional prosodic characteristics statable in such instances are the same as those stated in rule (a) of this section (See pages 372-74).

$$-I^W + v_{PA}^{-O} \rightarrow -I^W v_{PA}^O$$

Rdg. Tpn.	St. Fn.	Jtn. S.I.	Gloss
aa [†] tu-k-kaar-an [a: [†] uk:a:fən]	-I ^W	g	^v p- 'owner of a goat'
kaacu-k-kaar-an [ka:sk:a:fən]	"	"	" 'a wealthy man'
cii [†] tu-k-kaar-an [si: [†] uk:a:fən]	"	"	" 'he who draws lots'
a [†] aattu-k-kaar-i [ʌ [†] a:t:uk:a:fi]	"	"	" 'a woman of improper actions'
cuRu [†] tu-k-kaar-an [suru [†] :uk:a:fən]	"	"	" 'a cigar roller (mas.)'
vi [†] layaa [†] tu-k-kaar-an [ʊi [†] ʌ [†] ja: [†] uk:a:fən]	"	"	" 'a sportsman'

TABLE 6.12

6.6.11 (e) In the following instances, the internal junction between Y-prosodic stems and a gender suffix beginning with a plosive which is followed by a long vocalic element is characterized by *g* prosody. Generally the internal junction of this type is characterized by *g* prosody as stated in rule (a) of this section (See page 372). The possible exceptions are listed in the following table.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.Fn.	Jtn.	S.I.	Gloss
ku [†] i-kaar-an [kuʃiɦa:fən]	-I ^Y	g	^v P-	'one addicted to liquor (mas.)'
veRi-kaar-an [ʋeriɦa:fən]	"	"	"	'an intoxicated man'
cati-kaar-an [sʌðiɦa:fən]	"	"	"	'a schemer (mas.)'
pa []] i-kaar-an [pʌ []] iɦa:fən]	"	"	"	'a sinner (mas.)'

TABLE 6.13

6.6.12 (f) The internal junction between all types of non-C final stems and non-plosive suffixes is characterized by / prosody (See 6.5.7).

Rdg.Tpn.	St.Fn.	Jtn.	S.I.	Gloss
pa-maar [bæma:f]	-A ^Y	/	^b N-	'north Indian merchants'
aŋŋe-maar [ʌŋ:ɛma:f]	"	"	"	'elder brothers'
vitaane-maar [ʋiða:nɛma:f]	"	"	"	'headmen'
tiRame-caali [tirʌmesa:li]	"	"	^a F-	'a skilled person'

aRi-vu [ʌriʊw]	-I ^Y	/	- ^p _Z -	'knowledge'
tampi-maar [tʌmbima:f]	"	"	^b N-	'younger brothers'
ini-me [inime]	"	"	"	'sweetness'
yuuRi-maar [ju:rima:f]	"	"	"	'members of the jury panel'
vaatti-maar [ʋa:t:ima:f]	"	"	"	'teachers'
poRu-me [porume]	"	"	"	'patience'
appukkaattu-maar [ʌp:ʊk:a:t:ʊma:f]	-I ^W	"	"	'advocates'
nottaaricu-maar [not:a:risuma:f]	"	"	"	'notaries'
civa-le [siʋʌle]	-A ^O	"	^a L-	'a person of fair complexion'
akkaa-maar [ʌk:a:ma:f]	-A ^O	"	^b N-	'elder sisters'
ayyaa-maar [ʌj:a:ma:f]	"	"	"	'fathers'

TABLE 6.14

(3) C final stem + Non-C initial suffix

6.6.13 (a) In a majority of instances, the stem-suffix junction between C final stem and non-C initial suffix is characterized by / prosody (See 6.5.7).

Rdg.Tpn.	St.Fn.	Jtn.	S.I.	Gloss
aa[-e [a:][ε]	<u>f</u> _L	/	E ^Y	'person (acc.)'
aa[-aale [a:][a:lε]	"	"	A ^O	'person (ins.)'
aa[-oo]e [a:][o:][ε]	"	"	E ^W	'person (soc.)'
aa[-ukku [a:][wk:w]	"	"	I ^W	'person (dat.)'
aa[-i]t]e [a:][i]t:ε]	"	"	I ^Y	'person (loc.)'
nil-am [nil^m]	<u>a</u> _L	"	A ^O	'ground'
kol-e [kolε]	"	"	E ^Y	'murder'
etir-i [eðiri]	<u>f</u> _L	"	I ^Y	'an opponent'
luuc-an [lu:sən]	<u>a</u> _F	"	A ^O	'a mad man'

paan-oo [†] e [pa:ŋo:ɿ̃ɛ]	<u>r</u> _N	/	<u>E</u> ^W	'bread (soc.)'
kaan-ile [ka:nileɛ]	<u>a</u> _N	"	<u>I</u> ^Y	'drain (loc.)'
Rees-ile [re:sileɛ]	<u>a</u> _F	"	"	'race (loc.)'
kolvin-ukku [kolʋinwɤk:w]	<u>a</u> _N	"	<u>I</u> ^W	'Kolvin (pr.n. dat.)'
luutar-i ^{††} e [lu:ðəɿi [†] :ɛ]	<u>f</u> _L	"	<u>I</u> ^Y	'Luutar (pr.n. loc.)'
kakkuus-e [kɤk:u:sɛ]	<u>a</u> _F	"	<u>E</u> ^Y	'lavatory (acc.)'

TABLE 6.15

6.6.14 (b) The internal junction between C variable stems that end in a bilabial nasal in their nominative forms and non-C initial suffixes is characterized by the elision of the stem final nasal and either a long tense dental plosive articulation represented in phonological formulae as $\overset{d}{-P-}$ or a short labio-dental articulation represented in phonological formulae as $\overset{-p}{-Z-}$ as junctional element.

$$-V \text{ } ^b_N + V- \rightarrow -V \text{ } ^b_M \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \overset{d}{-P-} \\ -p \\ -Z- \end{array} \right\} V-$$

Thus ariyam + i^{††}e → ariyatti^{††}e

ciṅka]am + an → ciṅka]avan

The examples given below should be interpreted with this in mind.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.Fn.	Jtn.	S.I.	Gloss
ariya-tt-i tte [ʌɾiɟʌt:i t̪:ɛ]	b _N	b _N + d _P -	I ^Y	'Ariyam (pr.n. mas. loc.)'
kun̄a-tt-oo tte [kun̄ʌt:o:t̪:ɛ]	"	"	E ^W	'Kun̄am (pr.n. soc.)'
cella-tt-inre [sɛl:ʌt:in̄t̪ɛ]	"	"	I ^Y	'Cellam (pr.n. gen.)'
pa]a-tt-aale [pʌ]ʌt:a:lɛ]	"	"	A ^O	'picture (ins.)'
mootira-tt-e [mo:ɔ̄iɾʌt:ɛ]	"	"	E ^Y	'ring (acc.)'
maṇiya-tt-i tte [maṇiɟʌt:i t̪:ɛ]	"	"	I ^Y	'Maṇiyam (pr.n. mas. loc.)'
anupava-tt-ukku [ʌnuβʌʋʌt:uk:u]	"	"	I ^W	'experience (dat.)'
ciṅka]a-tt-i [siŋgʌ]ʌt:i]	"	"	I ^Y	'a Sinhalese (fem.)'
ciṅka]a-v-an [siŋgʌ]ʌʋən]	"	b _N + d _P -	A ^O	'a Sinhalese (mas.)'

Table 6.16

6.6.15 (c) The internal junction between stems with the final element $-\partial$ and non-C initial case suffixes has been discussed in Chapter 4 (See above, p.268). It has seemed appropriate to give in the present chapter further examples of this along with examples of these stems followed by other non-C initial suffixes (such as the interrogative particles $-ee$ and $-oo$, the masc. suffix $-an$ and the feminine suffix $-i$). As indicated in Chapter 4, the phonetic realization of $-\partial$ in these cases is zero.

Rdg. Tpn.	St.Fn.	S.I.	Gloss
aat ^t -oo [a:ɾo:]	-	\overline{E}^W	'goat(itg.)'
kaac-ee [ka:se:]	"	\overline{E}^Y	'money (itg.)'
cuut-ile [su:ðile]	"	I^Y	'gamble (loc.)'
catt-oot ^e [sat:o:ɾe]	"	\overline{E}^W	'nourishment (soc.)'
caṅk-ile [saṅgile]	"	I^Y	'conch shell (loc.)'
viit ^t -oot ^e [eɪ:t:o:ɾe]	"	\overline{E}^W	'house (soc.)'
alavaank-aale [ʌʌva:ŋga:le]	"	\overline{A}^O	'crow bar (ins.)'
kurut ^t -an [kuruɾan]	"	A^O	'a blind man'
mala ^t -i [maʌɾi]	"	I^Y	'an impotent woman'

kuru[-an [kufu[ən]	-I ^W	I ^W	A ⁰	'a blind man'
mala[-i [malal[i]	"	"	I ^Y	'an impotent woman'

TABLE 6.17

6.6.16 (d) The internal junction between C final stems of the syllabic structure (C)V C and non-C initial suffixes is characterized by g prosody.

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} a/r \\ L \\ b/a/r \\ N \end{array} \right\} + V- \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} a/r \\ L \\ b/a/r \\ N \end{array} \right\} V-$$

Thus ka[-i + i → ka[-i. The examples given below should be interpreted with this in mind.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.Fn.Jtn.	S.I.	Gloss
ka[-i [k^]:i]	I _L	g	I ^Y 'a thief (fem.)'
ka[-am [k^]:əm]	"	"	A ⁰ 'secrecy'
ka[-ar [k^]:əl]	"	"	" 'thieves'
koll-an [kol:ən]	a _L	"	" 'blacksmiths'
mill-ile [mil:ilɛ]	"	"	I ^Y 'mill (loc.)'

Rimm-oo ^t e [rim:o:ɛ]	<u>b</u> _N	g	<u>E</u> ^W	'rim (soc.)'
pamm-aale [pʌm:a:lɛ]	"	"	<u>A</u> ^O	'pump (ins.)'
pinn-e [pin:ɛ]	<u>a</u> _N	"	<u>E</u> ^Y	'pin (acc.)'
kanŋ-ile [kʌŋ:ilɛ]	<u>r</u> _N	"	<u>I</u> ^Y	'eye (loc.)'
vinŋ-i [ʋinŋ:i]	"	"	"	'a clever person (fem.)'

TABLE 6.18

6.6.17 (e) The internal junction between marginal stems (irrespective of their syllabic structure) ending either in a plosive or an affricate or a velar nasal and non-C initial suffixes is characterized by g prosody.

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} b/a/r/v \\ -P \\ -Q \\ \underline{v}_N \end{array} \right\} + V- \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} b/a/r/v \\ -\bar{P} \\ -\bar{Q} \\ \underline{v}_N \end{array} \right\} V-$$

Thus cek + e → cekke . The examples given below should be interpreted with this in mind.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.Fn.	Jtn.	S.I.	Gloss
cekk-e [tʃek:ɛ]	<u>v</u> _P	g	<u>E</u> ^Y	'cheque (acc.)'

keekk-ukku [ke:k:mk:w]	\underline{v}_P	g	I^W	'cake (dat.)'
ceecc-ile [tʃe:tʃilɛ]	-Q	"	I^Y	'church (loc.)'
roocc-e [to:tʃɛ]	"	"	E^Y	'torch (acc.)'
raaŋŋ-ile [ta:ŋ:ilɛ]	\underline{v}_N	"	I^Y	'tank (loc.)'
keeRR-e [ge:tʃɛ]	\underline{a}_P	"	E^Y	'gate (acc.)'
Rooʈt-aale [ro:tʃ:a:lɛ]	\underline{r}_P	"	\overline{A}^O	'road (ins.)'
cuvicc-ile [suʋitʃilɛ]	-Q	"	I^Y	'switch (loc.)'
cuiipp-aale [suʋi:p:a:lɛ]	\underline{b}_P	"	\overline{A}^O	'sweep (ins.)'
pooʈiŋŋ-ile [bo:tʃiŋ:ilɛ]	\underline{v}_N	"	I^Y	'boarding (loc.)'
ʈominikk-iʈte [dʌminik:iʈtɛ]	\underline{v}_P	"	"	'ʈominik (pr.n. mas. loc.)'
ʈayinamayiʈt-aale [dʌjinʌmʌjiʈt:a:lɛ]	\underline{a}_P	"	\overline{A}^O	'dynamite (ins.)'
mekkaanikk-e [mek:a:nik:ɛ]	\underline{v}_P	"	E^Y	'mechanic (acc.)'

TABLE 6.19

yaavaar-i [ja:ʋa:ɾi]	f _L	-y b _y	I ^Y	'trader'
cakootar-i [sʌho:ðʌɾi]	"	"	"	'sister'
atikaar-i [ʌðɪha:ɾi]	"	"	"	'an officer'
kacavaar-i [kʌsʌʋa:ɾi]	"	"	"	'a miser'
paṇṭaar-i [pʌṇṭa:ɾi]	"	"	"	'a Hindu mendicant'
canniyaac-i [sʌn:i ja:si]	a _F	"	"	'an ascetic'
pirayaac-i [piɾʌja:si]	"	"	"	'a persevering person'
cineekit-i [sine:hiði]	d _F	"	"	'a friend (fem.)'
yook-i [jo:hi]	ɛ _F	"	"	'one disciplined in yoga'
paav-i [pa:ʋi]	-p -z	"	"	'a sinner'
anutaav-i [ʌnʋðʌ:ʋi]	"	"	"	'sympathiser'
viveek-i [ʋiʋe:hi]	ɛ _F	"	"	'an intelligent person'

tiyaak-i [ti ja:hi]	ɛ _F	-ʔ ^b _M	I ^Y	'a martyr'
turook-i [tu ro:hi]	"	"	"	'traitor'
paatak-i [pa:ð ^h hi]	"	"	"	'criminal (fem.)'

TABLE 6.20

(4) C final stem + C initial suffix

6.6.19 The junctional prosodies statable for C final stems and C initial suffixes are of the following different types.

6.6.20 (a) The internal junction between liquid C final stem and suffix with a plosive initial followed by a short vowel is characterized by ɛ prosody (See also 7.2.102).

$$\begin{matrix} a/f/r \\ -L \end{matrix} + \begin{matrix} v_{PV-} \end{matrix} \rightarrow \begin{matrix} a/f/r \\ -L \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} \epsilon_{FV-} \end{matrix}$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.Fn.	Jtn.	S.I.	Gloss
iir-ka] [i:ɪhə]	f _L	ɛ	v _{P-}	'lice'
uur-ka] [u:ɪhə]	"	"	"	'villages'
yaar-ka] [ja:ɪhə]	"	"	"	'yards'
kaar-ka] [ka:ɪhə]	"	"	"	'cars'

Riil-ka [ri:lhə]	<u>a</u> _L	g	v _{P-}	'reels'
vayal-ka [ʋʌjəlhə]	"	"	"	'fields'
mayil-ka [mʌjilhə]	"	"	"	'miles'
civar-ka [siʋərhə]	<u>f</u> _L	"	"	'walls'
rayar-ka [tʌjərhə]	"	"	"	'tyres'
kumar-ka [kumərhə]	"	"	"	'spinsters'
koo]-ka [ko:lhə]	<u>r</u> _L	"	"	'tales of one's punishable activities'
poru]-ka [poru]hə]	"	"	"	'articles'
appi]-ka [ʌp:i]hə]	"	"	"	'apples'

TABLE 6.21

6.6.21 (b) The internal junction between liquid C final stem and suffix with a plosive initial followed by a long vowel is characterized by g prosody.

$$\begin{matrix} a/f/r \\ -L \end{matrix} + v_{P\bar{V}-} \rightarrow \begin{matrix} a/f/r \\ -L \end{matrix} v_{P\bar{V}-}$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.Fn.Jtn.	S.I.	Gloss	
uur-k-kaar-an [u:rk:a:fən]	<u>f</u> L	g	^v P-	'a man of the village'
peeppar-k-kaar-an [pe:p:ərk:a:fən]	"	"	"	'newspaper seller (mas.)'
catir-k-kaar-i [sʌðɪrk:a:fi]	"	"	"	'a nautch girl'
tavaal-k-kaar-an [tʌvʌl:k:a:fən]	<u>a</u> L	"	"	'postman'
nacal-k-kaar-i [nʌsəl:k:a:fi]	"	"	"	'one suffering from venereal disease (fem.)'
vayal-k-kaar-an [vʌjəl:k:a:fən]	"	"	"	'owner of paddy fields'
Raal-k-kaar-i [ra:l:k:a:fi]	"	"	"	'prawn seller (fem.)'
cayikki]-k-kaar-an [sʌjɪk:i]k:a:fən]	<u>i</u> L	"	"	'owner of a bicycle'
koo]-k-kaar-an [ko:]k:a:fən]	"	"	"	'he who tells about others' punishable acts'

TABLE 6.22

6.6.22 (c) The following six examples could be cited as exceptions to the general phonological statement made in (b) of this section (See 6.6.21).

In these isolated instances, the internal junction between liquid C final stems and suffix with an initial plosive followed by a short vocalic element is characterized by either g prosody or by the suffix initial plosive being realized as a fricative.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.Fn.Jtn.	S.I.	Gloss
ceer-p-pu [se:ɾp:w]	\underline{f}_L	g b_P -	'taking into account'
vaar-p-pu [ʋa:ɾp:w]	"	" "	'cast'
tiir-p-pu [ti:ɾp:w]	"	" "	'decision'
vaa[-k-ke [ʋa:ɾk:ɛ]	\underline{f}_L	" v_P -	'life'
iyal-pu [ijʌlβw]	\underline{a}_L	$b_P \rightarrow b_F$ "	'means'
toɽar-pu [toɽʌɾβw]	\underline{f}_L	" "	'connection'

TABLE 6.23

6.6.23 (d) The internal junction between stems with C final nasals other than bilabial nasal and plosive initial suffixes is characterized by the prosody of voicing (symbolised as +v). See 7.2.60 and 7.2.103.

$$\begin{array}{c} a/r/v \\ -N \end{array} + \begin{array}{c} v_{P-} \end{array} \rightarrow \begin{array}{c} a/r/v \\ N \end{array} \begin{array}{c} v_{P-} \\ +v \end{array}$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.Fn.	Jtn.	S.I.	Gloss
rin-ka] [tɪŋə]	<u>a</u> _N	+v	v _{P-}	'tins'
pin-ka] [pɪŋə]	"	"	"	'pins'
kaŋ-ka] [kʌŋə]	<u>r</u> _N	"	"	'eyes'
miin-kaar-an [mi:ŋa:fən]	<u>a</u> _N	"	"	'fish seller (mas.)'
encin-ka] [ɛŋdʒɪŋə]	"	"	"	'engines'
mooccaŋ-kaar-an [mo:t:ʃəŋga: n]	<u>v</u> _N	"	"	'jaws harp player (mas.)'
poo [†] in-kaar-an [bo:ʃɪŋga:fən]	"	"	"	'he who runs a boarding'
paan-kaar-an [pa:ŋga:fən]	<u>r</u> _N	"	"	'bread seller (mas.)'
maŋkustaan-kaar-an [maŋgʊsta:ŋga:fən]	<u>a</u> _N	"	"	'mangosteen seller (mas.)'
kuuppan-ka] [ku:p:əŋə]	"	"	"	'coupons'

TABLE 6.24

6.6.24 (e) The internal junction between stems ending either in a bilabial nasal or an alveolar nasal and suffixes with an initial plosive followed by a short vocalic element is characterized by h prosody and the prosody of voicing (See 7.2.105).

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{b/a} \\ \text{-N} \end{array} + \text{V}_{\text{P-}} \rightarrow \begin{array}{c} \text{V}_{\text{N}} \text{V}_{\text{P-}} \\ \text{+V} \end{array}$$

Rdg. Tpn.	St. Fn.	Jtn.	S.I.	Gloss
pa[am-ka] [pʌtəŋgə]	<u>b</u> N	h & +v	V _{P-}	'pictures'
maacam-ka [ma:səŋgə]	"	"	"	'months'
viya[am-ka] [viʃʌtəŋgə]	"	"	"	'matters'
kacavaaram-ka [kʌsʌʋa:təŋgə]	"	"	"	'misers'
mattiyaanam-ka [mat:iʃa:ŋəŋgə]	"	"	"	'noon times'
taan-ka [ta:ŋgə]	<u>a</u> N	"	"	'they (reflexive)'
naan-ka [na:ŋgə]	"	"	"	'we (nomin.)'
caniyan-ka [sʌniʃəŋgə]	"	"	"	'despicable persons'

TABLE 6.25

6.6.25 It is interesting to note that the junctional prosody (h prosody) statable for the above class of animate nominals ending in an alveolar nasal and taking the plosive initial plural suffix -ka differs from that statable for the class of inanimate nominals (in which instances the internal junction is characterized by the prosody of voicing) ending in an alveolar nasal and taking the plosive initial plural suffix -ka (See rule (d) of this section on page 392).

6.6.26 (f) The internal junction between C variable stems that end in a bilabial nasal in their nominative forms and suffixes with an initial plosive followed by a long vocalic element is characterized by the elision of the stem final nasal and g prosody.

$$-V \text{ } ^b_N + \text{ } ^V_{P\bar{V}}- \rightarrow -V \text{ } ^b_{\cancel{N}} + \text{ } ^V_{P\bar{V}}-$$

Thus kamam + kaar + an \rightarrow kamakkaaran . The examples given below should be interpreted with this in mind.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.Fn.	Jtn.	S.f.	Gloss
kama-k-kaar-an [kʌmʌk:a:fən]	$\text{ } ^b_N$	$\text{ } ^b_{\cancel{N}} + g$	$\text{ } ^V_{P-}$	'farmer'
veeta-k-kaar-ar [ʋe:ðʌk:a:fəl]	"	"	"	'christians'

appa-k-kaar-i [ʌp:ʌk:a:ɾi]	^b _N	^b _M + g	^v _P -	'hopper seller (fem.)'
too†a-k-kaar-an [to:†:ʌk:a:ɾən]	"	"	"	'gardener'
payittiya-k-kaar-an [pʌjit:ijʌk:a:ɾən]	"	"	"	'a mad man'
varutta-k-kaar-an [ʋʌɾwt:ʌk:a:ɾən]	"	"	"	'a sick man'
miRutaṅka-k-kaar-an [mirwḍʌŋgʌk:a:ɾən]	"	"	"	'a drummer (mas.)'
atis†a-k-kaar-i [ʌḍistʌk:a:ɾi]	"	"	"	'a lucky woman'

TABLE 6.26

6.6.27 (g) Exceptions to the above general rule (f) could be found in the following four instances in which the internal junction between C variable stems ending in a bilabial nasal in their nominative forms and suffixes with an initial plosive followed by a long vocalic element is characterized by the elision of the stem final nasal and \oint prosody.

Thus viratam + kaar + an \rightarrow viratakaaran . The examples given below should be interpreted with this in mind.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.Fn.	Jtn.	S.I.	Gloss
virata-kaar-an [ʋɪɾʌðʌhɑ:fən]	^b N	^b N + ɛ	^v P-	'an observer of fast (mas.)'
mee]a-kaar-an [me:]ʌhɑ:fən]	"	"	"	'a drummer (mas.)'
campa]a-kaar-an [sʌmbʌ]ʌhɑ:fən]	"	"	"	'one drawing a salary (mas.)'
uttiyooka-kaar-an [ut:ijo:hʌhɑ:fən]	"	"	"	'one in employment (mas.)'

TABLE 6.27

6.6.28 (h) The internal junction between C final stems and nasal or continuant initial suffixes is characterized by / prosody.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.Fn.	Jtn.	S.I.	Gloss
nees-maar [ne:sma:f]	^a F	/	^b N-	'nurses'
polis-maar [polisma:f]	"	"	"	'police'
meecan-maar [me:sənma:f]	^a N	"	"	'masons'
piyoon-maar [pijo:nma:f]	"	"	"	'peons'

meeyar-maar [me:ja:ma:f]	\underline{f}_L	/	b_{N-}	'mayors'
oovaciyar-maar [o:ʋʌsija:ma:f]	"	"	"	'overseers'
ki]aak-maar [k]a:kma:f]	\underline{v}_P	"	"	'clerks'
mekkaanik-maar [mek:a:nikma:f]	"	"	"	'mechanics'
ko]-mati [ko]ma:di]	\underline{r}_L	"	"	'cost price'
kee]-vi [ke:]ʋi]	"	"	\underline{z}_P	'question'
paar-ve [pa:fʋɛ]	\underline{f}_L	"	"	'sight'
tool-vi [to:li]	\underline{a}_L	"	"	'defeat'
vaa]-vu [ʋa:]ʋu]	\underline{r}_L	"	"	'conjugal happiness'

TABLE 6.28

6.6.29 (i) In a few instances, the internal junction between (verb) stems of the syllabic structure CVL and plosive or nasal or continuant initial suffixes is characterized by syllabicity. In four instances the junction is characterized by a syllabic vowel expressible in phonological

formulae as $-I^W$. Phonetically it implies a short back close vowel. In four instances, the junction is characterized by a syllabic vowel the structure of which may be expressed in phonological formulae as $-A^O$. The phonetic implication of this is a short vowel in the open region (See 7.4.24 and 7.4.38).

Rdg.Tpn.	St.Fn.	Jtn.	S.I.	Gloss
var-u-mati [ʋʌfʊmʌðɪ]	\underline{f}_L	$-I^W$	$^bN-$	'what is due'
var-u-maanam [ʋʌfʊma:nəm]	"	"	"	'income'
peR-u-maanam [perʊma:nəm]	-T	"	"	'the worth of an article'
tar-u-mati [tʌfʊmʌðɪ]	\underline{f}_L	"	"	'what one owes another'
var-a-ttu [ʋʌfʌt:ʊ]	"	$-A^O$	$^d\overline{P}-$	'coming'
cel-a-vu [selʌʋʊ]	\underline{a}_L	"	$^{\overline{p}}Z-$	'expenditure'
ka[-a-vu [kʌʌʋʊ]	\underline{r}_L	"	"	'theft'
var-a-vu [ʋʌfʌʋʊ]	\underline{f}_L	"	"	'dues'

TABLE 6.29

6.6.30 The native class of nominals does not have a plosive or an affricate or a velar nasal as the final C element of their stems. The marginal class has such a class of stems. A separate treatment is to be accorded to this class of stems when taking suffixes with an initial plosive followed by a short vocalic element.

6.6.31 (j) The internal junction between stems (irrespective of their syllabic structure) with either a plosive or an affricate or a velar nasal C final and a plural suffix with an initial plosive followed by a short vocalic element is characterized by (1) the stem final short C element being realized as a long tense one (2) a syllabic vowel the structure of which may be expressed in phonological formulae as $-I^W$. Phonetically it implies a short back close vocalic articulation. (3) \notin prosody (See 7.2.107).

$$\begin{Bmatrix} P \\ Q \\ v_N \end{Bmatrix} + v_{PV-} \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} \bar{P} \\ \bar{Q} \\ v_{\bar{N}} \end{Bmatrix} \quad I^W \quad \notin_{FV-}$$

Thus $cek + ka] \rightarrow cekkuka]$. The examples given below should be interpreted with this in mind.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.Fn.	Jtn.	S.I.	Gloss
cekk-u-ka]	v_P	$\notin + -I^W + \notin$	v_P-	'cheques'
[tʃek:ʷhə]				

keekk-u-ka]	\bar{v}_P	g + -I ^W + g	\bar{v}_P -	'cakes'
[ke:k:uħə]				
voo[t̪-u-ka]	\bar{r}_P	"	"	'votes'
[ʋo:t̪:uħə]				
Roott̪-u-ka]	"	"	"	'roads'
[ro:t̪:uħə]				
layi[t̪-u-ka]	\bar{a}_P	"	"	'lights'
[lajit̪:uħə]				
mayikk-u-ka]	\bar{v}_P	"	"	'microphones'
[majik:uħə]				
cikare[t̪-u-ka]	\bar{a}_P	"	"	'cigarettes'
[siħʌlet̪:uħə]				
riyuupp-u-ka]	\bar{b}_P	"	"	'tubes'
[tiju:p:uħə]				
ceecc-u-ka]	-Q	"	"	'churches'
[tʃe:t̪:uħə]				
cuvicc-u-ka]	"	"	"	'switches'
[suvit̪:uħə]				
paan̪-u-ka]	\bar{v}_N	"	"	'banks'
[bā:n̪:uħə]				
poo[t̪in̪-u-ka]	"	"	"	'boardings'
[bo:t̪in̪:uħə]				

TABLE 6.30

6.6.32 (k) The internal junction between stems with either a plosive or an affricate C final and suffixes with an initial plosive followed by a long vocalic element is characterized by / prosody.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.Fn.	Jtn.	S.I.	Gloss
cek-kaar-an [tʃek:a:fən]	<u>V</u> P	/	<u>V</u> P-	'owner of a cheque'
voo <u>t</u> -kaar-ar [ʋo:tka:fən]	<u>F</u> P	"	"	'voters'
cii <u>t</u> -kaar-an [si:tka:fən]	<u>a</u> P	"	"	'occupant of a seat'
mayik-kaar-an [mʌjik:a:fən]	<u>V</u> P	"	"	'microphone owner'
pemi <u>t</u> -kaar-an [pemitka:fən]	<u>a</u> P	"	"	'a permit holder'
layi <u>t</u> -kaar-an [lʌjitka:fən]	"	"	"	'electrician'
ceec-kaar-an [tʃe:tʃka:fən]	-Q	"	"	'(regular) church goer'
kaRaac-kaar-an [gʌra:tʃka:fən]	"	"	"	'garage owner'

TABLE 6.31

6.6.33 (l) The internal junction between C or CC final marginal stems with either an alveolar fricative or

labio-dental continuant as their final or second (in the case of CC final stems) final C element and suffixes with a plosive initial followed by a short vocalic element is characterized by two features: (1) There is a syllabic vowel which may be given the formulaic expression $-I^W$. Phonetically it implies a short back close vowel. (2) \oint prosody (See 7.2.106).

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} a_F \\ -p \\ CZ \\ C \quad a_F \end{array} \right\} + v_{PV-} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} a_F \\ -p \\ CZ \\ C \quad a_F \end{array} \right\} I^W \oint_{FV-}$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.Fn.	Jtn.	S.I.	Gloss
Rees-u-ka] [re:swħə]	a_F	$-I^W + \oint$	v_{P-}	'races'
mees-u-ka] [me:swħə]	"	"	"	'socks'
Riks-u-ka] [rikswħə]	$-C^{a_F}$	"	"	'tricks'
paa ^t s-u-ka] [pa: ^t swħə]	"	"	"	'parts'
loongs-u-ka] [lo:ŋswħə]	"	"	"	'pairs of trouser'
taans-u-ka] [da:nswhə]	"	"	"	'dances'

sroov-u-ka]	^{-p} -Z	-I ^W + ɛ	^v P-	'stoves'
[sto:ʊmhə]				
vaalv-u-ka]	^{-p} -CZ	"	"	'valves'
[ʋa:lʊmhə]				
ceekkas-u-ka]	^a F	"	"	'circuses'
[se:k:ʌsmhə]				

TABLE 6.32

6.6.34 (m) The internal junction between marginal stems with an alveolar fricative C final and suffixes with an initial plosive followed by a long vocalic element is characterized by the suffix short initial plosive being realized as a long tense one.

$$\text{a}_F + \text{v}_{P\bar{V}} \longrightarrow \text{a}_F \text{v}_{P\bar{V}}$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.Fn.	Jtn.	S.I.	Gloss
pas-kaar-an [bʌsk:a:fən]	^a F	ɛ	^v P-	'bus driver'
nees-kaar-i [ne:sk:a:fi]	"	"	"	'nurse'
ayis-kaar-an [ʌjisk:a:fən]	"	"	"	'ice seller'
polis-kaar-an [polisk:a:fən]	"	"	"	'polisman'
mittaas-kaar-an [mit:a:sk:a:fən]	"	"	"	'sweatmeat seller'

Table 6.33

6.6.35 (n) The internal junction stems with a retroflex lateral and suffix with a lax dental plosive initial is characterized by the stem final retroflex lateral and suffix initial dental plosive being realized as a long tense voiceless retroflex plosive articulation (See 7.4.37).

$$\underline{r}_L + d_{P-} \rightarrow r\bar{p}$$

Thus $\text{veru} \downarrow + \text{tu} \rightarrow \text{veru} \uparrow \uparrow \text{u}$. The examples given below should be interpreted with this in mind.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.Fn.	Jtn.	S.I.	Gloss
$\text{veru} \downarrow - \text{tu}$ [$\text{veru} \uparrow : \text{u}$]	\underline{r}_L	$\underline{r}_L + d_{P-} \rightarrow r\bar{p}$	d_{P-}	'threat'
$\text{cuRu} \downarrow - \text{tu}$ [$\text{suru} \uparrow : \text{u}$]	"	"	"	'cigars'
$\text{iru} \downarrow - \text{tu}$ [$\text{isw} \uparrow : \text{w}$]	"	"	"	'darkness'
$\text{pira} \downarrow - \text{tu}$ [$\text{pif} \wedge \uparrow : \text{w}$]	"	"	"	'turning'
$\text{uRu} \downarrow - \text{tu}$ [$\text{uru} \uparrow : \text{u}$]	"	"	"	'rolling'

TABLE 6.34

6.7

SUFFIX JUNCTION

6.7.1 The inter-relations of consecutive suffixes set up in nominal forms are dealt with in the following section.

The suffixes statable immediately after other suffixes in the nominals taken up for study in this work are either V-initial or C-initial. Similarly all suffixes statable immediately before other suffixes are either V final or C final. Therefore, the possibilities of junction between suffixes are limited to inter-relations of

(1) V final + V initial (3) C final + V initial

(2) V final + C initial (4) C final + C initial

(1) V final + V initial

6.7.2 (a) The first element is symbolised as $-I^Y$ and the junction is homoprosodic with this.

$-I^Y + V^Y \rightarrow I^Y \quad Y \quad V^Y$

e.g. $ve\text{ll}ekkaar-i + i\text{t}\text{t}e \rightarrow ve\text{ll}ekkaariyi\text{t}\text{t}e$ 'white woman
[pe:ek:a:riji:t:ε] (loc.)'

$kuppecc-i + inre \rightarrow kuppecciyinre$ 'worthless woman (gen.)'
[kup:et:fi:jinte]

6.7.3 (b) The first element is symbolised as $-A^0$ and the junction is characterized by W-prosody.

$-A^0 + V- \rightarrow -A^0 \quad W \quad V-$

e.g. $pa\text{t}ikkiR-a + an \rightarrow pa\text{t}ikkiRavan$ 'he who is studying'
[p^t ik:ir^0ən]

$e\text{li}y-a + an \rightarrow e\text{li}yavan$ 'he who is mean'
[e\text{li}j^0ən]

(2) V final + C initial

6.7.4 (a) The first suffix is symbolised as $-I^Y$ and the

junction is characterized by g prosody when the second suffix initial is a plosive followed by a long vocalic element.

$$-I^Y + {}^V P\bar{V}- \rightarrow I^Y {}^V P\bar{V}-$$

e.g. $\text{taṇkecc-i} + \text{kaari} \rightarrow \text{taṇkeccikkaari}$ 'younger sister'
[tʌŋget:ʃik:a:fi]

$\text{maRaṭ-i} + \text{kaaran} \rightarrow \text{maRaṭikkaaran}$ 'a forgetful man'
[mʌrʌḍik:a:fən]

6.7.5 (b) The first suffix is symbolised as $-I^Y$ and the junction is characterized by q prosody.

$$-I^Y + {}^V PV- \rightarrow I^Y \quad Y \quad V-$$

e.g. $\text{ve}[\text{lekkaar-i} + \text{ka}] \rightarrow \text{ve}[\text{lekkaarika}]$ 'white women'
[ʋe]:ek:a:fijə]

$\text{kaṇcal-i} + \text{ka}] \rightarrow \text{kaṇcalika}]$ 'worthless women'
[kʌṇdʒʌlijə]

6.7.6 (c) The first suffix is symbolised as $-I^Y$ and the junction is characterized by g prosody.

$$-I^Y + d_P \rightarrow -I^Y + d_{\bar{P}}-$$

e.g. $\text{putti-caali} + \text{tanam} \rightarrow \text{putticaalittanam}$ 'intelligence'
[put:isa:lit:ʌnəm]

$\text{poRukk-i} + \text{tanam} \rightarrow \text{poRukkittanam}$ 'meanness'
[poruk:it:ʌnəm]

6.7.7 (d) The first suffix is symbolised as $-I^Y$ and the junction is characterized by / prosody.

e.g. tankecc-i + maar → tankeccimaar 'younger sisters'
[tanget:ʃima:f]

6.7.8 (e) The first suffix is symbolised as $-I^W$ and the junction is characterized by g prosody.

$-I^W + V_{PV-} \rightarrow I^W V_{PV-}$

e.g. vi[up-pu + kaari → vi[uppukkaari 'an inquisitive
[vi[up:uk:a:ri] woman'

iRep-pu + kaarar → iReppukkaarar 'those who drain
[irep:uk:a:fəf] well water'

6.7.9 (f) The first suffix is symbolised as $-I^W$ and the junction is characterized by g prosody.

$-I^W + V_{PV-} \rightarrow -I^W \delta_{PV-}$

e.g. ceyta-tu + ka[→ ceytatuka['those that were done'
[sejðʌðwħə]

a-tu+ka[→ atuka['those things'
[ʌðwħə]

(3) C final + V initial

6.7.10 The first suffix final is either a nasal or a liquid and the junction is characterized by / prosody.

e.g. av-an + e → avane 'he (acc.)'
[ʌʋane]

aRut-al + an → aRutalan 'widower'
[ʌrmðʌlən]

tami]-ar + oo⁺e → tami]aroo⁺e 'Tamils (soc.)'
 [tʌmɪ]ar o:ɾɛ [tʌmɪ]ar o:ɾɛ]

(4) C final + C initial

6.7.11 (a) When the first suffix final is a liquid and the initial of the second suffix is a plosive followed by a long vocalic element, the junction is characterized by g prosody.

-L + ^VPV̄- → -L ^VPV̄-

e.g. ko]uv-al + kaaran → ko]uvalkkaaran 'a quarrel-
 [ko]u ʋalk:a:fən] some person'

maRiy-al + kaarar → maRiyalkkaarar 'prisoners'
 [maɾijəl k:a:ɾaɾ]

mee-] + kaari → mee]kkaari 'daughter'
 [me:]k:a:fi]

6.7.12 (b) If the C final of the first suffix is either a bilabial or an alveolar nasal and the initial plosive of the second suffix is followed by a short vocalic element, the junction is characterized by h prosody and voicing of the initial plosive of the second suffix.

b/a
 -N + ^VP- → ^VN ^VP-
 +v

e.g. pa]akk-am + ka] → pa]akkaṅka] 'habits'
 [pʌ]k:əŋgə]

pe⁺iy-an + ka] → pe⁺iyanka] 'boys'
 [pe⁺ijəŋgə]

6.7.13 (c) If the first suffix final is an alveolar nasal and the second suffix is followed by a long vocalic element, the junction is characterized by the prosody of voicing (symbolized as +v).

$$\underline{a}_N + {}^v\text{P}\bar{V}- \rightarrow \underline{a}_N \quad {}^v\text{P}\bar{V}- \\ +v$$

e.g. macc-aan + kaaran \rightarrow maccaankaaran 'cousin (mas.)'

[mat:ʃa:nga:ɾən]

mee-n + kaaran \rightarrow meenkaaran 'son'

[me:nga:ɾən]_n

6.7.14 (d) If the first suffix final is a bilabial nasal and the initial plosive of the second suffix is followed by a long vocalic element, the junction is characterized by the elision of the bilabial nasal and g prosody.

$$-v \text{ } ^b\text{N} + {}^v\text{P}\bar{V}- \rightarrow -v \text{ } ^b\text{N} \text{ } ^v\text{P}\bar{V}-$$

e.g. varutt-am + kaari \rightarrow varuttakkaari 'a sick woman'

[ʋarʉt:ʌk:a:ɾi]

oo[t]-am + kaaran \rightarrow ootakkaaran 'an athlete'

[o:t:ʌk:a:ɾən]

6.8

INTERNAL VERSUS EXTERNAL JUNCTION

6.8.1 The junction so far discussed between stem and suffix and those between two suffixes are instances of junction within word-boundaries. Any analysis like the present one which proposes to treat inter-word relations in the nominal piece must take into consideration the junction

across word-boundaries. Junction within word-boundary can be described as Internal Junction and its salient aspects have been discussed hitherto in the preceding sections of this chapter. What remains now to be considered is the junction across word-boundaries which can be termed External Junction. Only some general statements on external junction are made below. Detailed statements and illustrations in proper contexts are reserved for the subsequent chapter.

6.8.2 Nominal forms in the language may be either C final or non-C final. Nominal or other forms that colligate with nominal forms may be either C initial or non-C initial. Therefore, the possibilities of inter-relation among them are of the following four types:

- (1) Non-C final nominal form + Non-C initial word.
- (2) Non-C final nominal form + C initial word.
- (3) C final nominal form + Non-C initial word.
- (4) C final nominal form + C initial word.

In this section, nominal or other forms that usually follow nominal forms in connected speech and can be in junction with them are discussed under the above four headings.

(1) Non-C final nominal form + Non-C initial word

6.8.3 In accordance with the prosodic structure of the final syllable, the non-C final nominal form may be

Y-prosodic , W-prosodic or O-prosodic. In general terms, it may be said that the junction involving a Y-prosodic nominal form is also Y-prosodic, whereas the junction involving a W-prosodic nominal form is characterized by the elision of the final $-I^W$.

6.8.4 (a) Junctions involving a Y-prosodic -V final nominal forms.

$$- \begin{Bmatrix} I^Y \\ E^Y \end{Bmatrix} + V- \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} I^Y \\ E^Y \end{Bmatrix} Y V-$$

Nominal (1) Modifier + Nominal (2) Modified

e.g. kuuli + aa] → kuuliyaa] 'cooly'
[ku:li] [a:] [ku:lija:]

poopci + avare → poopciyavare 'a kind of bean'
[po:pdʒi] [ʌvʌfɛ] [po:pdʒijʌvʌfɛ]

pee + aa[tam → peeyaa[tam 'devil dance'
[pe:] [a:təm] [pe:ja:təm]

puri + aaŋi → puriyaanŋi 'nail with thread'
[puri] [a:ŋi] [purija:ŋi]

vaa]e + ile → vaa]eyile 'banana leaf'
[va:] [ɛ] [va:] [ɛjile]

6.8.5 (b) The junction between an adnominal participle and a kinship nominal is characterized by the elision of the final vocalic element of the adnominal participle.

$$-A^0 + A^0 \rightarrow -A^0 + A^0$$

- e.g. periya + appaa → periyappaa 'father's elder brother'
 [perij[^]] [ap:a:] [perij[^]ap:a:]
- periya + ammaa → periyammaa 'mother's elder sister'
 [perij[^]] [am:a:] [perij[^]am:a:]
- periya + akkaa → periyakkaa 'eldest sister'
 [perij[^]] [ak:a:] [perij[^]ak:a:]
- cinna + akkaa → cinnakkaa 'elder sister (but junior to other elder sisters in the family)'
 [sin:[^]] [ak:a:] [sin:[^]ak:a:]
- muutta + anne → muuttanne 'eldest brother'
 [mu:t:[^]] [an:^ε] [mu:t:[^]an:^ε]

6.8.6 (c) Junction involving a W-prosodic final nominal form.

$$-I^W + -V^W \rightarrow -I^W + -V^W$$

Nominal (1) Modifier + Nominal (2) Modified

- e.g. pantu + a^{ti} → panta^{ti} 'soccer'
 [p[^]and^u] [a^{ti}] [p[^]and^ua^{ti}]
- kuttu + arici → kuttarici 'pounded rice (uncooked)'
 [kut:u] [arisi] [kut:[^]arisi]
- e^{lu} + enne → e^{lu}enne 'gingely oil'
 [e^l:u] [en:^ε] [e^l:en:^ε]
- mu^{lu} + aanⁱ → mu^{lu}aanⁱ 'staple'
 [mu^l:u] + [a:ⁿⁱ] [mu^l:a:ⁿⁱ]
- ceruppu + a^{ti} → ceruppa^{ti} 'defeat or beating'
 [seɾup:u] [a^{ti}] [seɾup:[^]a^{ti}]

(2) Non-C final nominal form + C initial word

6.8.7 In the junction between W-prosodic non-C final forms and C initial words, the word final syllabic release vowel is often retained. In most instances, the junction is further characterized by the tense articulation of any plosive which begins the C initial word. The exceptions to this rule are to be found in nominal compounds of the pattern Verbal Root (modifier) + Nominal (modified) and in nominal compounds in which the modifier nominal is an underived nominal and the modified nominal is a derived nominal (See eeRu kutire 'riding horse' and kaatu kuttu 'ear boring' illustrated below in 6.8.31-6.8.32). In the junction between Y-prosodic non-C final nominal forms and C initial words also, the junction is characterized by the tense articulation of any plosive which begins the C initial word. For exceptions, see arittaṭṭu 'sifting pan' and taali kaṭṭu 'tying the nuptial knot' illustrated below in 6.831-6.8.32.

6.8.8 (a) When a demonstrative or interrogative pronoun with with a stem final -V modifies a nominal the initial of which is a plosive or a fricative, then the junction is expressible in phonological structural formulae as follows:

$$-A^0 + \left\{ \begin{array}{c} P \\ a_F \end{array} \right\} - \rightarrow -A^0 \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \bar{P} \\ \bar{Q} \end{array} \right\} -$$

- e.g. $\text{anta} + \text{pi}]e \rightarrow \text{antappi}]e$ 'that child'
 $[\text{nd}\wedge] \quad [\text{pi}]:\varepsilon] \quad [\text{nd}\wedge\text{pi}]:\varepsilon]$
 $\text{enta} + \text{kaar} \rightarrow \text{entakkaar}$ 'which car'
 $[\text{end}\wedge] \quad [\text{ka}:\text{r}] \quad [\text{end}\wedge\text{k}:\text{a}:\text{r}]$
 $\text{unta} + \text{tenne} \rightarrow \text{untattenne}$ 'this or that
 $[\text{und}\wedge] \quad [\text{ten}:\varepsilon] \quad [\text{und}\wedge\text{t}:\text{en}:\varepsilon]$ coconut tree'
 $\text{inta} + \text{caa}[\text{t}u \rightarrow \text{intaccaa}[\text{t}u$ 'this excuse'
 $[\text{ind}\wedge] \quad [\text{sa}:\text{t}:\text{w}] \quad [\text{ind}\wedge\text{t}:\text{sa}:\text{t}:\text{w}]$
 $\text{enta} + \text{ciile} \rightarrow \text{entacciile}$ 'which sari'
 $[\text{end}\wedge] \quad [\text{si}:\text{l}\varepsilon] \quad [\text{end}\wedge\text{t}:\text{si}:\text{l}\varepsilon]$

6.8.9 (b) When a demonstrative or interrogative pronoun with a stem final -V modifies a nominal the initial of which is either a nasal or a continuant, the junction is characterized by \neq prosody.

- e.g. $\text{anta} + \text{veele} \rightarrow \text{antaveele}$ 'that work'
 $[\text{nd}\wedge] \quad [\text{ve}:\text{l}\varepsilon] \quad [\text{nd}\wedge\text{ve}:\text{l}\varepsilon]$
 $\text{inta} + \text{vitam} \rightarrow \text{intavitam}$ 'this way'
 $[\text{ind}\wedge] \quad [\text{vi}\text{ð}\text{əm}] \quad [\text{ind}\wedge\text{vi}\text{ð}\text{əm}]$
 $\text{enta} + \text{naa}[\text{akam} \rightarrow \text{entanaa}[\text{akam}$ 'which drama'
 $[\text{end}\wedge] \quad [\text{na}:\text{t}\wedge\text{h}\text{əm}] \quad [\text{end}\wedge\text{na}:\text{t}\wedge\text{h}\text{əm}]$

6.8.10 (c) Junctions involving a \neq prosodic nominal final form.

Adnominal participle + Nominal

- e.g. $\text{poona} + \text{aluval} \rightarrow \text{poonaaluval}$ 'the matter
 $[\text{po}:\text{n}\wedge] \quad [\text{alw}\text{ʋ}\text{al}] \quad [\text{po}:\text{n}\wedge\text{alw}\text{ʋ}\text{al}]$ attended to'

ka|a|t|ina + epcin → ka|a|t|inaepcin 'the engine that was
[kʌ|ʌ|t|:inʌ] [epdʒin] [kʌ|ʌ|t|:inʌepdʒin] was dismantled'

vitta + aa|u → vittaaa|u 'the goat that was sold'
[ʋit:ʌ] [a:ʃw] [ʋit:ʌa:ʃw]

mi|ncina + oole → mi|ncinaoole 'remaining leaves'
[mi|ndʒinʌ] [o:le] [mi|ndʒinʌo:le]

e|utta + uuci → e|uttauuci 'the needle that was taken'
[e|wt:ʌ] [u:si] [e|wt:ʌu:si]

6.8.11 (d) Junction involving the elision of the final
vocalic element in pronoun and numeral modifiers.

6.8.12 (1) Demonstrative }
Interrogative } pronoun + Nominal

$-A^0 + A^0 \rightarrow -A^0 + A^0$

e.g. anta + aa| → antaa| 'that person'
[ʌndʌ] [a:ʃ] [ʌnda:ʃ]

inta + aRe → intaRe 'this room'
[indʌ] [ʌre] [inda:re]

enna + aluval → ennaluvall 'what business'
[en:ʌ] [ʌlwʋal] [en:ʌ|lwʋal]

unta + aacaami → untaacaami 'this or that person
[undʌ] [a:sa:mi] [unda:sa:mi] of shady character'

6.8.13 (2) Numeral (Cardinal) + Nominal

$-I^W + V- \rightarrow -I^W + V-$

e.g. ren|tu + aa| → ren|taa| 'two persons'
[tɛndw] [a:ʃ] [tɛnda:ʃ]

$e\dot{t}u + incu \rightarrow e\dot{t}incu$ 'eight inches'
 $[e\dot{t}:u] [ind_3u] [e\dot{t}:ind_3u]$
 $pattu + a\dot{t}i \rightarrow patta\dot{t}i$ 'ten cuts'
 $[p\wedge t:u] [\wedge\dot{t}i] [p\wedge t:\wedge\dot{t}i]$
 $aaRu + oo\dot{t}u \rightarrow aaRoo\dot{t}u$ 'six tiles'
 $[a:ru] [o:\dot{t}u] [a:ro:\dot{t}u]$

6.8.14 (3) Numeral adjective + Nominal

e.g. $oru + aa\dot{t} \rightarrow oraa\dot{t}$ 'one person'
 $[oru] [a:\dot{t}] [ora:\dot{t}]$
 $oru + oo\dot{t}e \rightarrow oroo\dot{t}e$ 'one hole'
 $[oru] [o:\dot{t}:\epsilon] [oro:\dot{t}:\epsilon]$
 $oru + ep\dot{c}iniyar \rightarrow orepciniyar$ 'an engineer'
 $[oru] [ep\dot{c}inij\epsilon r] [orep\dot{c}inij\epsilon r]$

6.8.15 (4) Pronoun (demonstrative) + Pronoun (interrogative)

e.g. $atu + aar \rightarrow ataar$ 'who is that person?'
 $[\wedge\dot{d}u] [a:r] [\wedge\dot{d}a:r]$
 $itu + enna \rightarrow itenna$ 'what is this?'
 $[i\dot{d}u] [en:\wedge] [i\dot{d}en:\wedge]$
 $utu + eet\dot{u} \rightarrow uteetu$ 'how was that or this
 $[u\dot{d}u] [e:\dot{d}u] [u\dot{d}e:\dot{d}u]$ obtained'
 $utu + een \rightarrow uteen$ 'what is this or that
 $[u\dot{d}u] [e:n] [u\dot{d}e:n]$ for'

6.8.16 (e) When an adnominal participle with a stem final

-V modifies a nominal with an initial plosive, the
 junction is characterized by the realization of the
 intervocalic plosive as a fricative.

6.8.17 (1) $-A^0 + \begin{matrix} b/d/v \\ P- \end{matrix} \rightarrow -A^0 \begin{matrix} b/d/g \\ F- \end{matrix}$

e.g. paatta + pa[†]am → paattapa[†]am 'the film that
[pa:t:ʌ] [pʌtəm] [pa:t:ʌβʌtəm] was seen'
vaacikkiRa + peeppar → vaacikkiRapeeppar 'reading
[ʋa:sik:irʌ] [pe:p:əf] [ʋa:sik:irʌpe:p:əf] newspaper
vaan[†]kina + taka[†]u → vaan[†]kinataka[†]u 'the realized
[ʋa:ŋginʌ] [tʌhʌtəm] [ʋa:ŋginʌðʌhʌtəm] defeat'
periya + ka[†]e → periyaka[†]e 'grand bazaar'
[pe ij] [kʌtɛ] [perij hʌtɛ]

6.8.18 (2) An exception to the above general rule can be found in the junction between the indeclinable participle cinna 'small' and nominals with a plosive initial. In these instances, the junction is characterized by g prosody.

e.g. cinna + pi[†]le → cinnappi[†]le 'small child'
[sin:ʌ] [pi:tɛ] [sin:ʌp:i:tɛ]
cinna + ta[†]i → cinnatta[†]i 'small stick'
[sin:ʌ] [tʌti] [sin:ʌt:ʌti]
cinna + ka[†]e → cinnakka[†]e 'small bazaar'
[sin:ʌ] [kʌtɛ] [sin:ʌk:ʌtɛ]

6.8.19 (f) When an adnominal participle modifies a nominal with a non-plosive initial, the junction is characterized by / prosody.

e.g. cetta + vii[†]u → cettavii[†]u 'funeral house'
[set:ʌ] [vi:təm] [set:ʌvi:təm]

vaaRa + canti → vaaRacanti 'coming junction'
 [ʊa:ra] [saṇdi] [ʊa:ra saṇdi]

nalla + yaavaaram → nallayaavaaram 'good business'
 [naɭ:ʌ] [ja:ʊa:fəm] [naɭ:ʌ ja:ʊa:fəm]

eṭutta + liivu → eṭuttaliivu 'the leave that was taken'
 [eṭut:ʌ] [li:ʊw] [eṭut:ʌ li:ʊw]

neṭipca + Rim → neṭincaRim 'dented rim'
 [neṭiṇdʒʌ] [rim] [neṭiṇdʒʌ rim]

piRaṇta + naaṭ → piRaṇtanaaṭ 'birthday'
 [piɾaṇdʌ] [na:ṭ] [piɾaṇdʌ na:ṭ]

paṭikkiRa + meece → paṭikkiRameece 'study table'
 [paṭik:irʌ] [me:se] [paṭik:irʌ me:se]

- 6.8.20 (g) Nominal compounds in which the nominal modifier ends in a vocalic element and the initial of the modified nominal is a plosive, the junction is characterized by a long tense voiceless articulation of the initial plosive of the modified nominal.

-V + P- → -V P̄-

Nominal (1) Modifier + Nominal (2) Modified

e.g. maṇi + kuṭu → maṇikkuṭu 'clock'
 [maṇi] [ku:ṭu] [maṇik:u:ṭu]

aame + puṭu → aameppuṭu 'lock'
 [a:me] [pu:ṭu] [a:meɸ:u:ṭu]

tee + taṇṇi → teettaṇṇi 'tea'
 [te:] [taṇ:i] [te:t:ʌṇ:i]

6. Similar interrelations between stem and suffix have been stated in prosodic terms with regard to an Indian dialect of Tamil by Subbiah (1965, pp. 23 - 24).

muukku + tuu] → muukkuttuu] 'snuff'
 [mu:k:u] [tu:] [mu:k:ut:u:]

vilaa + puu]tu → vilaappuu]tu 'vertebral column
 [θila:] [pu:] [vila:p:u:] joint'

civappu + pencil → civappuppencil 'red pencil'
 [siʊap:u] [pɛndʒil] [siʊap:ɸp:ɛndʒil]

va + puu]tu → vappuu]tu 'gag'
 [ʋə] [pu:] [ʋɸp:u:]

pu]u + kuttal → pu]ukkuttal 'that which is
 [pu]u [kut:əl] [pu]uk:ut:əl] worm eaten'

6.8.21 (h) In the following compounds, the junction is characterized by either a bilabial or dental or velar nasal as junctional element and the prosody of voicing (symbolised by the subscript +v).

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \bar{I}^W \\ \bar{A}^O \end{array} \right\} + p- \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \bar{I}^W \\ \bar{A}^O \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{c} b/d/v \\ N \\ P- \\ +v \end{array}$$

e.g. maa + pa]am → maampa]am 'mango fruit'
 [ma:] [pA]əm] [ma:mb^]əm]

maa + puu → maampuu 'mango flower'
 [ma:] [pu:] [ma:mbu:]

maa + tooppu → maant_{nn}ooppu 'mango grove'
 [ma:] [to:p:u] [ma:nd_{nn}o:p:u]

maa + ta]ir → maanta_{nn}]ir 'tender mango leaves'
 [ma:] [t^]iɾ] [ma:nd^]iɾ]

maa + ka]tu → maanka_{nn}]tu 'young mango tree'
 [ma:] [k^]ndu] [ma:ng^]ndu]

maa + ka → maanka 'unripe mango'
 [ma:] [kæ] [ma:ŋgæ]

puu + too[†]am → puuntoo[†]am 'flower garden'
 [pu:] [to:†:ə̃m] [pu:nd̩o:†:ə̃m]

It is interesting to note that the bilabial and dental nasals occur as junctional elements only in nominal compounds whereas the velar nasal occurs in both the junction within word-boundary and the junction across word-boundary (See 6.4.6).

6.8.22 (i) The junction between a modifier nominal and a modified proper name whose initial C unit is a plosive is characterized by the plosive of the modified nominal being realized as a fricative.

$$- \begin{Bmatrix} I^Y \\ I^W \end{Bmatrix} + \begin{matrix} b/d/v \\ P \end{matrix} \begin{Bmatrix} I^Y \\ I^W \end{Bmatrix} \begin{matrix} b/d/g \\ F- \end{matrix}$$

e.g. piRakkiRaaci + katiraveelu →
 [piɾʌk:ira:si] [kʌðɪfʌθe:lu]

piRakkiRaacikatiraveelu 'Katiraveelu who is a
 [piɾʌk:ira:sɪfʌðɪfʌθe:lu] proctor'

appukkaattu + ponnampalam →
 [ʌp:ʊk:a:t:ʊ] [pon:əmbʌlə̃m] an advocate'

appukkaattuponnampalam 'Ponnampalam who
 [ʌp:ʊk:a:t:ʊpon:əmbʌlə̃m] is an advocate'

piRakkiRaacitiraveelu 'Tiraveelu who is a
 [piɾʌk:ira:siɪɾʌθe:lu] proctor'

appootikkari + paakkiyanaayam →
 [ʌp:ɔ:ðik:ʌfi] [pa:k:ijʌna:jəm]

appootikkaripaakkiyanaayam 'Paakkiyanaayam who is an
 [ʌp:ɔ:ðik:ʌfiβa:k:ijʌna:jəm] apothecary'

piRakkiRaaci + turesiṅkam →
 [pirʌk:ira:si] [turesiṅgəm]

piRakkiRaacituresiṅkam 'Turesiṅkam who is a proctor'
 [pirʌk:ira:siðwɪsɪṅgəm]

nottaaricu + tampu →
 [not:a:ɾisw] [tʌmbw]

nottaaricutampu 'Tampu who is a notary'
 [not:a:ɾiswðʌmbw]

appukkaattu + kaaraalasiṅkam →
 [ʌp:wk:a:t:w] [ka:ɾa:lʌsiṅgəm]

appukkaattukaaraalasiṅkam 'Kaaraalasiṅkam who is an
 [ʌp:wk:a:t:wɸa:ɾa:lʌsiṅgəm] advocate'

6.8.23 (j) In nominal + verbal or nominal type of sentences,
 the junction is characterized by the initial plosive of the
 verb or second nominal being realized as a fricative.

-V + $\begin{matrix} b/d/v \\ P \end{matrix} \rightarrow -V \begin{matrix} b/d/g \\ F \end{matrix}$

6.8.24 (1) Kinship term } + Verb
 Proper name }

e.g. kaṇapati + taraan → kaṇapatitaraan 'Kaṇapati will
 [kʌṇʌβʌð] [[tʌɾa:n][kʌṇʌβʌðiðʌɾa:n] not give'

kayilaacapati + kiRukkutu →
 [kʌjila:sʌβʌði] [kirʌk:wðw]

kayilaacapatikiRukkutu 'Kayilaacapati is scribbling'

[kajila:sʌβʌðihiruk:ɔ̃ɔ̃]

akkaa + peecuvaa → akkaapeecuvaa 'elder sister will

[ʌk:a:] [pe:smʊa:] [ʌk:a:βe:smʊa:] scold'

kantayyaa + koʎuviccutu → kantayyaakoʎuviccutu 'Kantayyaa

[kʌndʌj:a:] [koʎuʋit:ɔ̃ɔ̃] [kʌndʌj:a:hʌʋit:ɔ̃ɔ̃] quarrelled'

vitti + teeʎutu → vittiteeʎutu 'Vitti is searching'

[ʋit:i] [te:ʎɔ̃ɔ̃] [ʋit:iðe:ʎɔ̃ɔ̃]

aṇṇe + paʎikkiRaar → aṇṇepaʎikkiRaar 'elder brother

[ʌṇ:ɛ] [paʎik:ira:r] [ʌṇ:ɛβʌʎik:ira:r] is studying'

6.8.25 (2) Pronoun + Verb

e.g. ave + taaRave → avetaaRave 'she gives'

[ʌʋə] [ta:rʌʋə] [ʌʋəðe:rʌʋə] (See kymogram 34).

nii + keeʎan → niikeeʎan 'why not you ask'

[ni:] [ke:ʎən] [ni:he:ʎən]

atu + pookutu → atupookutu 'it is going'

[ʌðɔ̃ɔ̃] [po:hɔ̃ɔ̃] [ʌðɔ̃ɔ̃βo:hɔ̃ɔ̃]

6.8.26 (3) Object nominal + Verb (when the object nominal is not overtly marked for the accusative case. All such instances will be inanimate nominals).

e.g. kooppi + pooʎʎan → kooppipooʎʎan 'I prepared

[ko:p:i] [po:ʎ:ən] [ko:p:iβo:ʎ:ən] coffee'

cooʎaa kuʎiccan → cooʎaakuʎiccan 'I drank soda'

[so:ʎa:] [kuʎit:ʎən] [so:ʎa:hɔ̃ʎit:ʎən]

tuucu + taʎʎinan → tuucutaʎʎinan 'I did dusting'

[tu:su] [tʌʎ:inən] [tu:suðʌʎ:inən]

6.8.27 (4) Proper Nominal (1)Modified + Nominal(2)Modifier

e.g. kanapati + peeyan → kanapatipeeyan 'Kanapati
[kʌŋβʌðɪ] [pe:jən] [kʌŋβʌðɪβe:jən] is a fool'

kanaku + turooki → kanakuturooki 'Kanaku is
[kʌnʌhʷ] [tuɾo:hi] [kʌnʌhʷðuɾo:hi]

kanapati + kareyaan → kanapatikareyaan 'Kanapati
[kʌŋβʌðɪ] [kʌɾeja:n] [kʌŋβʌðɪhʌɾeja:n] is of
the fisherman's caste'

muttu + penčan → muttupenčan 'Muttu is on
[mut:u] [penɖʒən] [mut:uβenɖʒən] pension'

kamala + tiyaaki → kamalaatiyaaki 'Kamala
[kʌmʌla:] [tiʒa:hi] [kʌmʌla:ðɪʒa:hi] is a martyr'

6.8.28 (k) In nominal (1) + adnominal participle +
nominal (2), the junction is characterized by the initial
plosives of the adnominal participles and the second
nominals being realized as fricatives.

$$\begin{array}{ccccc} & & b/d/v & & b/d/g \\ -V & + & P- & \rightarrow & -V & F- \end{array}$$

e.g. kuṭṭi + pooṭṭa + puune → kuṭṭipooṭṭapuune 'the cat
[kuṭ:i] [po:ṭ:ʌ] [pu:ne] [kuṭ:iβo:ṭ:ʌpu:ne] that
bore kittens'

kuṭe + kaṭṭuRa + kaakkaa → kuṭekaṭṭuRakaakkaa 'umbrella
[kuṭe] [kʌṭ:wrʌ] [ka:k:a:] [kuṭeḥʌṭ:wrʌha:k:a:] repairer'

tuucu + taṭṭuRa + taṭi → tuucutaṭṭuRataṭi 'dusting
[tu:su] [tʌṭ:wrʌ] [tʌṭi] [tu:suðʌṭ:wrʌðʌṭi] stick'

manoo + paatta + paarve → manopaattapaarve
[mano:] [pa:t:ʌ] [pa:ɾʊe] [mano:βa:t:ʌβa:ɾʊe] 'the way
Manoo looks'

6.8.29 (1) In nominal compounds comprising two nominals, when the sequence of nominals are in a coordinated relationship (i.e., when each of them can be enumerated separately, the junction is characterized by the intervocalic plosives being realized as fricatives.

$$- \begin{Bmatrix} I^Y \\ I^W \end{Bmatrix} + \begin{matrix} b/d/v \\ P- \end{matrix} \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} I^Y \\ I^W \end{Bmatrix} \begin{matrix} b/d/g \\ F \end{matrix}$$

e.g. $pe\check{t}i + pe\check{t}te \rightarrow pe\check{t}ipe\check{t}te$ 'boy and girl'
 $[pe\check{t}i] \quad [pe\check{t}:e] \quad [pe\check{t}i\beta e\check{t}:e]$

$pe\check{t}ti + pa\check{t}ukke \rightarrow pe\check{t}tipa\check{t}ukke$ 'personal
 $[pe\check{t}:i] \quad [pa\check{t}uk:k:e] \quad [pe\check{t}:i\beta a\check{t}uk:k:e]$ belongings'

(See kymogram 32).

$koo\check{t}u + kacceeri \rightarrow koo\check{t}ukacceeri$ 'legal court and
 $[ko:\check{t}u] \quad [k\check{a}t:je:ri] \quad [ko:\check{t}u\check{h}at:je:ri]$ secretariat'

$taali + kuuRe \rightarrow taalikuuRe$ 'bridal necklace
 $[ta:li] \quad [ku:re] \quad [ta:lihu:re]$ and sari'

$ta\check{t}i + ta\check{t}u \rightarrow ta\check{t}itan\check{t}u$ 'stick and the like'
 $[ta\check{t}i] \quad [ta\check{t}u] \quad [ta\check{t}i\delta a\check{t}u]$

6.8.30 (m) In nominal compounds in which the modifier is either a verb or nominal stem that is Y- or W-prosodic and the initial C unit of the modified nominal is either a plosive or a nasal or a continuant, the junction is characterized as follows:

$$\begin{Bmatrix} -I^Y \\ I^W \end{Bmatrix} + \begin{matrix} d/v \\ P- \end{matrix} \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} I^Y \\ I^W \end{Bmatrix} \begin{matrix} d/g \\ F- \end{matrix}$$

6.8.31 (1) Verb stem (Modifier) + Nominal (Modified)

e.g. ari + ta[†]tu → arita[†]tu 'sifting pan'
 [ʌɾi] [tʌ[†]:w] [ʌɾiðʌ[†]:w]

eeRu + kutire → eeRukutire 'riding horse'
 [e:rw] [kuðice] [e:rwɥwðice]

aa[†]tu + kaal → aa[†]tukaal 'well sweep prop'
 [a:ɾw] [ka:l] [a:ɾwɥa:l] (See kymogram 39).

cu[†]tu + ta[†]ni → cu[†]uta[†]ni 'hot water'
 [suɾu] [tʌ[†]:i] [suɾuðʌ[†]:i]

va[†]i + ta[†]tu → va[†]ita[†]tu 'strainer'
 [ʋʌ[†]i] [tʌ[†]:w] [ʋʌ[†]iðʌ[†]:w]

uuRu + ka → uuRuka 'pickle'
 [u:ru] [kæ] [u:ruɥæ]

6.8.32 (2) Nominal (underived) + Nominal (derived)

e.g. taali + ka[†]tu → taalika[†]tu 'tying the nuptial
 [ta:li] [kʌ[†]:w] [ta:liɥʌ[†]:w] knot'

kaatu + kuttu → kaatukuttu 'ear boring'
 [ka:ðw] [kut:u] [ka:ðwɥut:w] (See kymogram 38)

muun[†]tu + ka[†]tu → muun[†]tuka[†]tu 'three bundles'
 [mu:nɯ] [kʌ[†]:w] [mu:nɯɥkʌ[†]:w]

6.8.33 (3) In nominal compounds in which the modified nominal C initial is either a nasal or a continuant, the junction is characterized by / prosody.

Nominal (1) Modifier + Nominal (2) Modified
 Verb

e.g. aani + maacam → aanimaacam 'the month of June'
 [a:ni] [ma:səm] [a:nima:səm]

peeti + maruntu → peetimaruntu 'purgative'
 [pe:ð̥i] [mʌɾuṇḍu] [pe:ð̥imʌɾuṇḍu]

pooyaa + naaḷ → pooyaanaaḷ 'full moon day'
 [po:ja:] [na:ḷ] [po:ja:na:ḷ]

uuci + nuul → uucinuul 'needle thread'
 [u:si] [nu:l] [u:sinu:l]

Reeṭiyoo + neeram → Reeṭiyoooneeram 'radio time'
 [re:ṭijo:] [ne:ɾəm] [re:ṭijo:ne:ɾəm]

peṭṭe + na → peṭṭena 'bitch'
 [peṭ̪:ɛ] [nə] [peṭ̪:ɛnə]

poccu + maṭṭe → poccumaṭṭe 'coconut fibre'
 [pot̪:ɕu] [mʌṭ̪:ɛ] [pot̪:ɕumʌṭ̪:ɛ]

teru + vaḷi → teruvaḷi 'roadside'
 [teɾu] [vaḷi] [teɾuvaḷi]

are + vaaci → arevaaci 'half portion'
 [ʌɾɛ] [va:si] [ʌɾɛva:si]

renṭu + jaar → renṭujjaar 'two yards'
 [teṇḍu] [ja:f] [teṇḍuja:f]

miti + maram → mitimaram 'stepping plank'
 [miḍ̪i] [mʌɾəm] [miḍ̪imʌɾəm]

kaṭ̪i + na → kaṭ̪ina 'biting dog'
 [kʌṭ̪i] [nə] [kʌṭ̪inə]

eṛi + veṭ̪i → eṛiveṭ̪i 'throw cracker'
 [eɾi] [veɾi] [eɾiveɾi]

kannaaṭ̪i + yannal → kannaaṭ̪iyannal 'glass window'
 [kʌṇ̪:a:ṭ̪i] [ja:n:əl] [kʌṇ̪:a:ṭ̪ija:n:əl]

(3) C final nominal form + Non-C initial word

6.8.34 (a) The nominal stem with a bilabial nasal as its final C unit when in junction with a non-C initial word will result in the elision of the final C unit of the modifier nominal.

6.8.35 (1) $v^{b_N} + V- \rightarrow v^{b_N} V-$

Nominal (1) Modifier + Nominal (2) Modified

e.g. maram + anil \rightarrow maraanil 'wild squirrel'
 [mʌfəm] [ʌnil] [mʌfʌnil]
 ciŋka]am + aa] \rightarrow ciŋka]aaa] 'a Sinhalese'
 [siŋgʌ]əm [a:] [siŋgʌ]ʌa:]
 maram + ucci \rightarrow maraucci 'top of tree'
 [mʌfəm] [ut:]i [mʌfʌut:]i
 maram + eeni \rightarrow maraeeni 'wooden ladder'
 [mʌfəm] [e:]ni [mʌfʌe:]ni
 manam + enŋam \rightarrow manaenŋam 'idea at heart'
 [mʌnəm] [eŋ:]əm [mʌnʌeŋ:]əm

6.8.36 (2) In the following isolated instances, the nominal stem final bilabial nasal is elided and the junction is further characterized by Y-prosody before a close front vowel.

e.g. cukam + iinam \rightarrow cukayiinam 'sickness'
 [suhəm] [i:nəm] [suhʲji:nəm]
 pelam + iinam \rightarrow pelayiinam 'emaciation'
 [peləm] [i:nəm] [pelʲji:nəm]

6.8.37 (b) The junction of stems of CVC pattern with non-C initial nominals is characterized by the stem final short

tami] + aa] → tami]aa] 'a Tamil'
 [tami] [a:] [tami]a:]

cayikki] + oo]t]am → cayikki]oo]t]am 'bicycle riding'
 [sʌjik:i] [o:t:əm] [sʌjik:i]o:t:əm]

vaar + oo]t]am → vaaroo]t]am 'a native game'
 [ʋa:f] [o:t:əm] [ʋa:ro:t:əm]

naar + uRi → naaruRi 'pot hanger made of coconut
 [na:f] [uri] [na:ɽwri] fibre'

miin + en]e → miinen]e 'oil extracted from fish'
 [mi:n] [en:ɛ] [mi:nen:ɛ]

kuuppan + arici → kuuppanarici 'rationed quota of rice'
 [ku:p:ən] [ʌɾisi] [ku:p:ənʌɾisi]

pavun] + o]t]iyaan]am → pavuno]t]iyaan]am 'a waist ornament
 [pʌʋun] [o:t]iyaan]am] [pʌʋuno]t]iyaan]am] made of gold'

6.8.39 (d) In the following instances, the junction of nominals whose stem final C unit is either a plosive or a nasal or a liquid or a fricative with non-C initial nominals is characterized by / prosody. As both the nominals are borrowed forms and as the compounds occur in the language from which the borrowing had taken place, namely, English, it is most likely that these forms were borrowed in their compound forms. In three instances, the pre-nominal modifiers are classed as adjectives (civil , municippal and kiRiminal) in the donor language.

e.g. ravun] + aaspattiri → ravunaaspattiri 'town
 [tʌʋun] [a:spat:ifi] [tʌʋuna:spat:ifi]

- ravuṇ + oovaciyar → ravunoovaciyar 'town overseer'
 [tṛʌʋṇ] [o:ʋʌsijəf] [tṛʌʋṇo:ʋʌsijəf]
- kaar + akci|enR → kaarakci|enR 'car accident'
 [ka:f] [ʌksi|ent] [ka:rʌksi|ent]
- pas + akci|enR → pasakci|enR 'bus accident'
 [bʌs] [ʌksi|ent] [bʌsʌksi|ent]
- civil + appukkaattu → civilappukkaattu 'one who pract-
 [siʋil] [ʌp:ʍk:a:t:ʍ] [siʋilap:ʍk:a:t:ʍ] ises civil law'
- moo|ar + ekcaaminar → moo|arekcaaminar 'motor
 [mo:|:əf] [eksa:minəf] [mo:|:əfiksa:minəf] examiner'
- meeyar + ileccan → meeyarileccan 'mayoral election'
 [me:jəf] [ilet:ʃən] [me:jəfilet:ʃən]
- polis + inspeRRar → polisinspeRRar 'police inspector'
 [polis] [inspet:əf] [polisinspet:əf]
- ekcayis + inspeRRar → ekcayisinspeRRar 'excise
 [eksʌjis] [inspet:əf] [eksʌjisinspet:əf] inspector'
- kiRiminal + appukkaattu → kiRiminalappukkaattu 'criminal
 [kiriminʌl] [ʌp:ʍk:a:t:ʍ] [kiriminʌlʌp:ʍk:a:t:ʍ] lawyer'
- rikke| + inspeRRar → rikke|inspeRRar 'ticket inspector'
 [tik:et] [inspet:əf] [tik:etinspet:əf]
- municippal + ep̄ciniyar → municippalep̄ciniyar 'municipal
 [munisip:əl] [ep̄ɟiniɟ] [munisip:ələp̄ɟiniɟəf] engineer'
- cayikki| + akci|enR → cayikki|akci|enR 'bicycle
 [sʌjik:i|] [ʌksi|ent] [sʌjik:i|ʌksi|ent] accident'

6.8.40 (e) In the following isolated instance, the junction is characterized by the elision of the final bilabial nasal and the vocalic element preceding it in the modifier nominal.

e.g. tarumam + aaspattiri → tarumaaspattiri 'a hospital
 [tʌrʊmʌm] [a:spʌt:iri] [tʌrʊma:spʌt:iri] where
 free treatment is given'

6.8.41 (f) In the following type of sentences, the junction
 is characterized by / prosody.

6.8.42 (1) Kinship nominal + Pronoun (+ Verb)

e.g. mee + enna + paṭṭikkiRaa →
 [me:] [en:] [pʌṭṭik:ira:]
 meeṭennapaṭṭikkiRaa 'what is the daughter studying'
 [me:ṭen:ṭʌṭṭik:ira:]

meen + enna + ceyyuRaar →
 [me:n] [en:] [sej:ura:f]
 meennaceyyuRaar 'what is the son doing'
 [me:nen:ṭsej:ura:f]

teeppan + aar → teeppanaar 'who is the father'
 [te:p:ən] [a:f] [te:p:əna:f]

6.8.43 (2) Kinship }
 Pronoun } + Pronoun (+ Nominal)

e.g. mee + enta + paṭṭikkutṭam →
 [me:] [endʌ] [pʌṭṭik:uṭṭam]
 meeṭentappaṭṭikkutṭam 'in which school is the daughter'
 [me:ṭendʌp:ṭṭik:uṭṭam]

meen + enta + uur → meenentaaur 'in which town
 [me:n] [endʌ] [u:f] [me:nendʌu:f] or village is
 the son'

avar + enta + pakuti →
 [ʌvʌr] [endʌ] [pʌḥḥḍi]

avarentappakuti 'to which section does he belong to'
 [ʌvʌrendʌp:ṭṭḥḥḍi]

6.8.44 (3) Kinship }
Pronoun } + Adverb(+ Verb)

- e.g. mee] + enke + pooRaa → mee]enkepooRaa 'where is the
[me:] [enke] [po:ra:] [me:]enkepo:ra:] daughter going'
meen + inke + piRantavan →
[me:n] [inke] [piRantavan] 'son was born here'
[me:] [piRantavan]
naan + anke + varan → naanankevaran 'I will not
[na:n] [anke] [varan] [na:n]ankevaran come there'
een + unke + tee]uvaan → eenunketee]uvaan 'why
[e:n] [unke] [te:]uvaan [e:n]unke:te:]uvaan search
there'

(4) C final nominal form + C initial word

6.8.45 (a) The junction of nominal forms whose stem final is a non-nasal, with C initial nominals is characterized as follows:

6.8.46 (1) Any plosive articulation with which the second nominal begins will be usually long, tense and voiceless.

-L + P- → -LP-

Nominal (1) Modifier + Nominal (2) Modified

- e.g. tavaal + kantoor → tavaalkkantoor 'post office'
[tʌva:l] [kantoor] [tʌva:lkantoor]
ponkal + paane → pongkalppaane 'pot to boil the
[pongəl] [pa:ne] [pongəlp:a:ne] harvested rice'
tami] + peeppar → tami]peeppar 'Tamil newspaper'
[tami] [pe:p:əf] [tami]p:e:p:əf]

cayikki] + ka]e → cayikki]kka]e 'bicycle shop'
 [sa]jik:i] [ka]e [sa]jik:i]k:ka]e]

paal + takaram → paalttakaram 'tin of milk'
 [pa:l] [ta]ha]ra]m [pa:lt:ta]ha]ra]m]

pa]tar + takaram → pa]tarta]karam 'tin of butter'
 [pa]t:ar] [ta]ha]ra]m [ba]t:ar:ta]ha]ra]m]

kalar + pa]am → kalarppa]am 'coloured film'
 [ka]la]r] [pa]a]m [ka]la]r:pa]a]m]

ney + tooce → neytttooce 'a kind of hopper baked on
 [nej] [to:se] [nejt:o:se] ghee'

kay + poRuppu → kayppoRuppu 'liability'
 [ka]j] [po]ru]p:u [ka]j:po]ru]p:u]

kay + kuuli → kaykkuuli 'bribe'
 [ka]j] [ku:li] [ka]j:k:u:li]

6.8.47 (2) The junction is characterized by the final short alveolar fricative of the modified nominal being realized as a long, tense voiceless affricate.

-L + ^aF- → -LQ̃-

Nominal (1) Modifier + Nominal (2) Modified

e.g. vaa] + ca]te → vaa]cca]te 'sword fight'
 [va:] [sa]n]de] [va:]t:sa]n]de]

neer + cilaake → neerccilaake 'straight wooden
 [ne:] [si]la:]ke] [ne:]r:t:]i]la:]ke] bar'

kaal + ca]te → kaalcca]te 'pair of shorts or
 [ka:l] [sa]t:]e] [ka:lt:]a]t:]e] trousers'

naa] + ca]te → naa]cca]te 'day fair'
 [na:] [sa]n]de] [na:]t:sa]n]de]

6.8.48 (3) But in the following isolated instances, the stem final C unit is either an alveolar or retroflex lateral and the C initial of the modified nominal is an alveolar fricative and the junction is characterized by / prosody.

e.g. meel + caati → meelcaati 'high caste'
 [me:l] [sa:ði] [me:l̥sa:ði]
 kii + caati → kii|caati 'low caste'
 [ki:] [sa:ði] [ki:]sa:ði]

6.8.49 (b) When the stem final C unit is a nasal other than a bilabial nasal and the C initial of the following word is a plosive, the junction is characterized by the prosody of voicing (symbolised by the subscript +v).

$$\begin{array}{ccc} \text{a/r} & \text{b/d/v} & \\ -N & + & P- \end{array} \rightarrow \begin{array}{ccc} \text{a/r} & \text{b/d/v} & \\ -N & & P- \\ & & +v \end{array}$$

Nominal (1) Modifier + Nominal (2) Modified

e.g. miin + poriyal → miinporiyal 'fried fish'
 [mi:n] [porijəl] [mi:n̥porijəl]
 miin + tun̥tu → miintun̥tu 'piece of fish'
 [mi:n] [tun̥du] [mi:n̥dun̥du]
 miin + ku|ampu → miinku|ampu 'a fish curry'
 [mi:n] [kū|ambw] [mi:n̥gū|ambw]
 paan̥ + tun̥tu → paan̥tun̥tu 'slice of bread'
 [pa:n̥] [tun̥du] [pa:n̥dun̥du]
 teen + kuu̥tu → teenkuu̥tu 'bee hive'
 [te:n] [ku:̥u] [te:n̥gu:̥u]

6.8.50 (c) When the modifier stem final is a nasal and the C initial of the modified nominal is a plosive, the junction

in the following instances is characterized as follows:

6.8.51 (1) The junction is characterized by the loss of the stem final bilabial nasal and the gemination of the initial plosive of the following nominal.

$$v \text{ } \underline{b}_N + P- \rightarrow v \text{ } \underline{b}_N \bar{P}-$$

Nominal (1) Modifier + Nominal (2) Modified

- e.g. maanam + keetu → maanakkeetu 'loss of honour'
 [ma:nəm] [ke:ɽu] [ma:nək:e:ɽu]
- varucam + piRappu → varucappiRappu 'birth of an
 [ʋɑɽmsəm] [pirʌp:u] [ʋɑɽmsʌp:irʌp:u] year'
- contam + kaani → contakkaani 'one's own land'
 [sondəm] [ka:ɳi] [sondak:a:ɳi]
- kalam + tooni → kalattooni 'an illicit
 [kʌɽ:əm] [to:ɳi] [kʌɽ:ət:o:ɳi] immigrant'
- palam + pui → palappui 'tamarind'
 [pʌɽəm] [puɽi] [pʌɽʌp:uɽi]

6.8.52 (2) The junction is characterized by h-prosody and the prosody of voicing.

$$\begin{array}{ccccc} b/r & & b/d/v & & b/d/v \quad b/d/v \\ -N & + & P & \rightarrow & -N \quad P- \\ & & & & +v \end{array}$$

Nominal (1) Modifier + Nominal (2) Modified

- e.g. mulam + kaal → mulangkaal 'knee'
 [muɽəm] [ka:l] [muɽanga:l]
- palam + tootu → palantootu 'old ear ring'
 [pʌɽəm] [to:ɽu] [pʌɽantoo:ɽu]
- maram + kotti → marangkotti 'woodpecker'
 [mʌɽəm] [kot:i] [mʌɽangot:i]

aan + pi]le → aampi]le 'male'
 [a:ŋ] [pi]:ε [a:mbi]:ε]

pen + pi]le → pempi]le 'female'
 [pen] [pi]:ε [pembi]:ε]

6.8.53 (3) The modifier nominal final is a bilabial nasal and the initial C unit of the modified nominal is a bilabial plosive and the junction is characterized by the prosody of voicing.

$$\underline{b}_N + b_P \rightarrow \underline{b}_N \begin{matrix} b_P \\ +v \end{matrix}$$

Nominal (1) Modifier + Nominal (2) Modified

e.g. pa]am + peeppar → pa]ampeppar 'old newspaper'
 [pʌ]əm [pe:p:əf] [pʌ]əmbe:p:əf]

pa]am + pavuŋ → pa]ampavuŋ 'old gold'
 [pʌ]əm [pʌvʊŋ] [pʌ]əmbʌvʊŋ]

pa]am + paal → pa]ampaal 'stale milk'
 [pʌ]əm [pa:l] [pʌ]əmba:l]

6.8.54 (d) In the following isolated instances, the junction between an adnominal participle ending with a bilabial nasal and a nominal with an initial plosive is either characterized by h prosody and the prosody of voicing or only the prosody of voicing.

Adnominal participle + Nominal

e.g. varum + kaalam → varuŋkaalam 'future'
 [ʋʌrʊm] [ka:ləm] [ʋʌrʊŋga:ləm]

varum + pa]i → varumpa]i 'income'
 [ʋʌrʊm] [pʌ]i [ʋʌrʊmbʌ]i]

peecum + pa^tam → peecumpa^tam 'name of a film journal'
 [pe:sʊm] [pʌ^təm] [pe:sʊmbʌ^təm]

6.8.55 (e) The modifier nominal final is a bilabial nasal and the initial C unit of the modified nominal is an alveolar fricative and the junction is characterized by the stem final bilabial and C initial alveolar fricative being realized as a palatal nasal and affricate respectively.

$$b_N + a_F- \rightarrow p_N q-$$

Nominal (1) Modifier + Nominal (2) Modified

e.g. pa^tam + caamaan → pa^tan^{ca}amaan 'old article'
 [pʌ^təm] [sa:ma:n] [pʌ^tʌndʒa:ma:n]

inam + canam → inan^{ca}canam 'relatives'
 [inəm] [sʌnəm] [inʌndʒnəm]

pa^tam + calippu → pa^tan^{ca}calippu 'old grief'
 [pʌ^təm] [sʌlip:w] [pʌ^tʌndʒʌlip:w]

6.8.56 (f) In some other instances, the junction is characterized by the stem final bilabial nasal being elided and the initial alveolar fricative of the modified nominal being realized as a long, tense voiceless affricate.

$$-v b_N + a_F- \rightarrow -v b_N \bar{q}-$$

Nominal (1) Modifier + Nominal (2) Modified

e.g. paⁿam + ca^tan^{ku} → paⁿacca^tan^{ku} 'money ceremony'
 [pʌⁿəm] [sʌ^tʌ^{ng}w] [pʌⁿʌ^t:sʌ^tʌ^{ng}w]

ka^lam + caa^ttu → ka^lacca^atu 'flimsy excuse'
 [kʌ^l:əm] [sa:^t:w] [kʌ^l:ə^t:sa:^t:w]

mukam + caayal → mukaccaayal 'facial resemblance'
 [muhəm] [sa:jəl] [muhət:ʃa:jəl]

caamattiyam + caṭaṅku → caamattiyaccaṭaṅku 'ceremony concerning puberty'
 [sa:mət:ijəm] [sʌṭʌŋɡw] [sa:mət:ijət:ʃʌṭʌŋɡw]

6.8.57 (g) The junction between modifier nominals ending in a bilabial nasal and modified nominals beginning with either a nasal or a continuant is characterized by the elision of the C final of the modifier nominal.

$$-V \ b_N + \begin{Bmatrix} N \\ Z \end{Bmatrix} - \rightarrow V \ b_M \begin{Bmatrix} N \\ Z \end{Bmatrix} -$$

Nominal (1) Modifier + Nominal (2) Modified

e.g. paṇam + muṭe → paṇamuṭe 'financial hardship'
 [pʌṇəm] [muṭe] [pʌṇəm̥muṭe]

mukam + muuṭi → mukamuuṭi 'face mask'
 [muhəm] [mu:ṭi] [muhəm̥mu:ṭi]

viratam + naaṭ → viratanaaṭ 'day for fast'
 [ʋiɾʌḍəm] [na:ṭ] [ʋiɾʌḍəna:ṭ]

kaliyaanam + viiṭu → kaliyaanaviiṭu 'wedding house'
 [kʌlija:ṇəm] [ʋi:ṭu] [kʌlija:nəʋi:ṭu]

maram + yaavaaram → marayaavaaram 'trade in timber'
 [mʌrəm] [ja:ʋa:fəm] [mʌfəja:ʋa:fəm]

muttam + veṭi → muttaveṭi 'esplanade'
 [mut:əm] [ʋeṭi] [mut:əʋeṭi]

6.8.58 (h) There are some forms which are by nature

adjectives. These forms⁸ occur only in nominal compounds and therefore justify their being labelled as pure adjectives in contradistinction to other classes of adjective which are either derivable from nouns or verbs or are underived nominals. All these adjectives end in a nasal.

6.8.59 (1) The junction between adjectives and nominals beginning with a plosive is characterized by h prosody and the prosody of voicing.

$$\begin{array}{ccccc} b/r & & d/v & & d/v \quad d/v \\ -N & + & P- & \rightarrow & -N \quad P- \\ & & & & +v \end{array}$$

- e.g. $ven\eta + kalam \rightarrow ven\eta kalam$ 'bronze'
 $[v\eta\eta] \quad [k\lambda l\grave{a}m] \quad [v\eta\eta g\lambda l\grave{a}m]$
- $i\eta am + ko\eta i \rightarrow i\eta a\eta ko\eta i$ 'placenta'
 $[i\eta\grave{a}m] \quad [ko\eta i] \quad [i\eta a\eta go\eta i]$
- $cem + tami\eta \rightarrow centami\eta$ 'classical Tamil'
 $[sem] \quad [t\grave{a}mi\eta] \quad [s\grave{e}n\grave{d}\grave{a}mi\eta]$
- $veRum + kay \rightarrow veRu\eta kay$ 'empty hand'
 $[v\eta rum] \quad [k\wedge j] \quad [v\eta ru\eta g\wedge j]$
- $veRum + ka\eta i \rightarrow veRu\eta ka\eta i$ 'nothing but a
 $[v\eta rum] \quad [k\wedge :i] \quad [v\eta ru\eta g\wedge :i]$ thief (fem.)'

6.8.60 (2) The junction is characterized by the stem final

8. In traditional grammar, these forms are derived from abstract nominals ending in a vocalic element which is preceded by a bilabial nasal. e.g. $i\eta am < i\eta ame$ 'youthhood', $veRum < veRume$ 'that which is empty' etc.

bilabial nasal and the initial alveolar fricative of the modified nominal being realized as a palatal nasal and an affricate respectively.

$$\underline{b}_N + a_{F-} \rightarrow \underline{p}_N \underset{+v}{q-}$$

- e.g. $i\lambda am + cuu\uparrow u \rightarrow i\lambda ancuu\uparrow u$ 'lukewarm water'
 $[i\lambda am] [su:\uparrow u] [i\lambda and\uparrow u:\uparrow u]$
- $veRum + caakku \rightarrow veRuncaakku$ 'empty sack'
 $[v\text{er}um] [sa:k:w] [v\text{er}und\uparrow a:k:w]$
- $i\lambda am + coo\uparrow i \rightarrow i\lambda ancoo\uparrow i$ 'young pair'
 $[i\lambda am] [so:\uparrow i] [i\lambda and\uparrow o:\uparrow i]$
- $veRum + cooRu \rightarrow veRuncooRu$ '(cooked) rice
 $[v\text{er}um] [so:ru] [v\text{er}und\uparrow o:ru]$ alone'

6.8.61 (3) If the adjective ends in a bilabial nasal and the C initial unit of the modified nominal is a bilabial plosive, the junction is characterized by the voicing of the initial plosive of the modified nominal.

$$\underline{b}_N + b_{P-} \rightarrow \underline{b}_N \underset{+v}{b_{P-}}$$

- e.g. $i\lambda am + pi\uparrow le \rightarrow i\lambda ampi\uparrow le$ 'young person'
 $[i\lambda am] [pi:\uparrow e] [i\lambda ambi\uparrow e]$
- $i\lambda am + pe\uparrow iyan \rightarrow i\lambda ampe\uparrow iyan$ 'young boy'
 $[i\lambda am] [pe\uparrow ijan] [i\lambda ambe\uparrow ijan]$
- $veRum + paakku \rightarrow veRumpaakku$ 'arecanut alone'
 $[v\text{er}um] [pa:k:w] [v\text{er}umba:k:w]$

6.8.62 (i) In the following nominal plus verbal type of sentences, the nominal ends in a nasal and the verb begins

with a plosive.

6.8.63 (1) The junction is characterized by the prosodic feature of voicing of the initial plosive of the verbal form.

$$-N + P- \rightarrow -N \begin{matrix} P- \\ +v \end{matrix}$$

Pronoun + Verb

- e.g. naan + taaraan → naantaaraan 'I shall give'
 [na:n] [ta:ra:n] [na:nda:ra:n]
- avan + katturaan → avankatturaan 'he is shouting'
 [ʌʒən] [kʌt:wra:n] [ʌʒəŋkʌt:wra:n]
- een + paṭṭikkiRaay → eenpaṭṭikkiRaay 'why are you studying'
 [e:n] [pʌṭṭik:ra:j] [e:nbʌṭṭik:ra:j]

Object nominal + Verb

- e.g. miin + poriccan → miinporiccan 'I fried fish'
 [mi:n] [porit:ʃən] [mi:nborit:ʃən]
- puṇ + kaṭṭuraan → puṇkaṭṭuraan 'I am dressing the wound'
 [puṇ] [kʌṭṭ:wra:n] [puṇkʌṭṭ:wra:n]
- paan + teeṭuraan → paanteeteṭuraan 'I am looking for bread'
 [pa:n] [te:ṭwra:n] [pa:nṭe:ṭwra:n]
- pepcan + keekkuRaar → pepcankeekkuRaar 'he is retiring'
 [pendʒən] [ke:k:wra:f] [pendʒəŋke:k:wra:f]

6.8.64 (2) When the object nominal ends in a bilabial nasal and the verb begins with a bilabial plosive, the junction is characterized by the prosody of voicing of the initial plosive of the verb.

$$\underline{b}_N + \underline{b}_P- \rightarrow \underline{b}_N \begin{matrix} \underline{b}_P- \\ +v \end{matrix}$$

Object nominal + Verb

e.g. pa^ham + paattan → pa^hampaattan 'I saw a film'
 [pʌ^həm] [pa:t:ən] [pʌ^həmba:t:ən]

pelam + paattan → pelampaattan 'I tested the
 [peləm] [pa:t:ən] [peləmba:t:ən] strength'

caapam + poo^han → caapampoo^han 'I cursed'
 [sa:βəm] [po:ʔ:ən] [sa:βəmbo:ʔ:ən]

6.8.65 (3) When the object nominal ends with a bilabial nasal and the verb begins either with a dental or velar plosive, the junction is characterized by h prosody and voicing of the initial plosive of the verb.

$$\begin{array}{c} b \\ -N \end{array} + \begin{array}{c} d/v \\ P- \end{array} \rightarrow \begin{array}{c} d/v \\ -N \end{array} \begin{array}{c} d/v \\ P- \\ +v \end{array}$$

Object nominal + Verb

e.g. pa^ham + ku^huttan → pa^han^hku^huttan 'I gave the
 [pʌ^həm] [ku^hut:ən] [pʌ^hən^hku^hut:ən] picture'

maram + ta^hRiccan → maran^hta^hRiccan 'I felled a
 [mʌ^həm] [tʌ^hrit:ən] [mʌ^hən^hdʌ^hrit:ən] tree'

pa^ham + ka^hinaan → pa^han^hka^hinaan 'he nicknamed'
 [pʌ^h:əm] [kʌ^h:ina:n] [pʌ^h:ən^hgʌ^h:ina:n]

6.8.66 (j) The junction between liquid final modifier nominals and plosive initial modified nominals is characterized by the plosive of the modified nominal being realized as a fricative.

$$\begin{array}{c} a/f \\ -L \end{array} + \begin{array}{c} b/d/v \\ P- \end{array} \rightarrow \begin{array}{c} a/f \\ -L \end{array} \begin{array}{c} b/d/g \\ F- \end{array}$$

6.8.67 (1) Nominal (1) Modifier + Nominal (2) Modified

e.g. oovaciyar + ponnampalam →

[o:ʊʌsijər] [pon:ʌmbʌləm]

oovaciyarponnampalam 'ponnampalam who is an
[o:ʊʌsijərβon:ʌmbʌləm] overseer'

oovaciyar + kantayyaa →

[o:ʊʌsijər] [kʌndʌj:a:]

oovaciyarkantayyaa 'Kantayyaa who is an overseer'
[o:ʊʌsijər kʌndʌj:a:]meeyar + tureraacaa → meeyartureraacaa 'Tureraacaa
[me:jər] [tʊrɛrɛ:sa:] [me:jər tʊrɛrɛ:sa:] who is mayor'

picukkaal + tureyappaa →

[pismk:a:l] [tʊrɛjʌp:a:]

picukkaaltureyappaa 'Tureyappaa who is a fiscal'
[pismk:a:l tʊrɛjʌp:a:]

6.8.68 (2)

Nominal (1) Modifier + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Kinship nominal (2) Modified} \\ \text{Nominal} \end{array} \right.$

e.g. maasrar + pencaati → maasrarpencati 'master's

[ma:stər] [pɛndʒa:ði] [ma:stərβɛndʒa:ði] wife'

picukkaal + pencaati → picukkaalpencaati 'fiscal's

[pismk:a:l] [pɛndʒa:ði] [pismk:a:lβɛndʒa:ði] wife'

meeyar + terivu → meeyarterivu 'mayoral

[me:jər] [tɛrɪvʊ] [me:jər tɛrɪvʊ] election'

maasrar + kuṭumpam → maasrarkuṭumpam 'master's

[ma:stər] [kuṭumbəm] [ma:stər kʊṭumbəm] family'

6.8.69 (k) The junction between nominals whose final is a

vocalic element preceded by a long tense liquid and nominals whose initial is either a nasal or a continuant is characterized by the elision of the final vocalic element and the long tense liquid being realized as a lax liquid articulation.

$$-LLI^W + \begin{Bmatrix} N \\ Z \end{Bmatrix} - \rightarrow -L\cancel{L}I^W \begin{Bmatrix} N \\ Z \end{Bmatrix} -$$

- e.g. nellu + naattu → nelnaattu 'paddy
 [nel:u] [na:t:u] [nelna:t:u] transplantation'
- kallu + mootiram → kalmootiram 'ring with stone'
 [kal:u] [mo:ðicəm] [kalmo:ðicəm]
- mu]u + mituvaṭi → mu]mituvaṭi 'clogs fitted
 [mu]:u] [miðuṭi] [mu]miðuṭi] with spikes'
- kallu + moṅkaan → kalmoṅkaan 'a stone hammer'
 [kal:u] [moṅga:n] [kalmoṅga:n]
- kallu + viiṭu → kalviiṭu 'house constructed
 [kal:u] [vi:ṭu] [kalvi:ṭu] with stone'
- collu + vaṭi → colvaṭi 'advice'
 [sol:u] [ṭi] [solṭi]
- mu]u + murukku → mu]murukku 'name of a thorny
 [mu]:u] [muruk:u] [mu]muruk:u] tree'

6.8.70 (1) The junction between modifier nominals of the marginal class that end either in a plosive or an affricate and modified nominals beginning with a plosive is characterized by / prosody.

- e.g. mayik + pemiṭ → mayikpemiṭ 'microphone permit'
 [majik] [pemiṭ] [majikpemiṭ]

piReek + ka[†]te → piReekka[†]te 'brake shoe'
 [bre:k] [k[†]:ε] [bre:k:k[†]:ε]

ki[†]aak + ponnayyaa → ki[†]aakponnayyaa 'Ponnayyaa who
 [k[†]a:k] [pon:ɹj:a:] [k[†]a:kpon:ɹj:a:] is a clerk'

voo[†] + tun[†]u → voo[†]tun[†]u 'ballot paper'
 [ʋo:ɹ] [tun[†]u] [ʋo:ɹ:tun[†]u]

Ricii[†] + tun[†]u → Ricii[†]tun[†]u 'receipt'
 [risi:t] [tun[†]u] [risi:t:tun[†]u]

layi[†] + [†]ayinamoo → layi[†][†]ayinamoo 'dynamo plant'
 [lɹji:t] [ɹ[†]ajinamo:] [lɹji:tɹ[†]ajinamo:]

cikare[†] + ka[†]te → cikare[†]ka[†]te 'cigarette shop'
 [sih[†]ɹet] [k[†]:ε] [sih[†]ɹetk[†]:ε]

cikare[†] + paakke[†] → cikare[†]paakke[†] 'cigarette
 [sih[†]ɹet] [pa:k:et] [sih[†]ɹetpa:k:et] packet'

vaac + ka[†]te → vaacka[†]te 'watch shop'
 [ʋa:tʃ] [k[†]:ε] [ʋa:tʃk[†]:ε]

cuvic + kii → cuvickii 'switch key'
 [suvitʃ] [ki:] [suʋitʃki:]

kaRaac + pe[†]iyanka[†] → kaRaacpe[†]iyanka[†] 'garage boys'
 [gɹa:tʃ] [pe[†]ijəŋgə[†]] [gɹa:tʃpe[†]ijəŋgə[†]]

mekkaanik + ka[†]ntacaami → mekkaanikka[†]ntacaami 'Ka[†]ntasaami
 [mek:a:nik] [k[†]ɹnd[†]sa:mi] [mek:a:nik:k[†]ɹnd[†]sa:mi] who is a
 mechanic'

keeR + tuRappu → keeRtuRappu 'gate key'
 [ge:t] [turɹp:w] [ge:t:turɹp:w]

CHAPTER 7

7 PHONOLOGICAL SHAPE OF THE NOMINAL IN RELATION
 TO GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES

7.1 General Remarks

7.1.1 In this chapter, the diverse phonetic forms of the different nominal suffixes in Jaffna Tamil are given phonological expression and an attempt is made to establish the number of suffixes required in the language. The grammatical categories of the nominal were discussed briefly in Chapter 2. These nominal categories will now be taken up for detailed phonological analysis. The problem is tackled polysystemically and the inter-relations of stems and suffixes which may be qualitative or quantitative or both are spotlighted. This has resulted in the statement of different kinds of junctional structure. In chapter 5 (5.5.12) reference has been made to the order in which nominals take suffixes. The suffixes will be taken up for discussion in the order mentioned in 5.5.12.

7.2 GENDER SYSTEM

7.2.1 In the singular forms of nominals taking gender suffixes, one and the same suffix indicates gender and number (See footnote 22 in 2.12.6). Therefore gender and number are handled together when making phonological

statements of stems taking singular gender and number suffixes. The masculine singular suffixes in the language are -n , -an and -aan . The feminine singular suffixes are -l , -al , -aal and -i . The neuter singular suffix is -tu .

MASCULINE SINGULAR SUFFIXES

Suffixation of -n

7.2.2 This nasal suffix may be expressed in phonological formulae as $\bar{a}N$. The phonetic exponent is a short alveolar nasal. It is mostly statable after 0-prosodic stems. In a few instances, it is statable after C variable stems that end in a bilabial nasal in their nominative forms. In one isolated instance, it is statable after a Y-prosodic stem.

7.2.3 (a) The internal junction between 0-prosodic stems and this suffix is characterized by \neq prosody.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
cemmaa-n	CV $\bar{C}\bar{V}^0$	\neq	$\bar{a}N$	'cobbler (mas.)'
ta \bar{t} aa-n	"	"	"	'goldsmith (mas.)'
va \bar{n} aa-n	"	"	"	'washerman'
kannaa-n	"	"	"	'idol craftsman (mas.)'
caan \bar{t} aa-n	C $\bar{V}N\bar{C}\bar{V}^0$	"	"	'oil monger (mas.)'

TABLE 7.1

7.2.4 (b) The internal junction between C variable stems that end in a bilabial nasal in their nominative forms and this suffix is characterized by the elision of the stem final bilabial nasal.

$$-v^0 b_N + a_N \rightarrow v^0 b_M a_N$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
ciina-n	CVCV(N)	\underline{b}_M	\underline{a}_N	'a Chinese (mas.)'
coonaka-n	CVCVCV(N)	"	"	'a Moor (mas.)'
ampa $\uparrow\uparrow$ a-n	VNCVCV(N)	"	"	'a barber (mas.)'
piraamaṇa-n	CVCVCVCV(N)	"	"	'a Brahmin (mas.)'

TABLE 7.2

7.2.5 (c) In the following isolated instance, the stem is Y-prosodic and the internal junction is characterized by / prosody.

Rdg.Tpn.St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
mee-n	CV ^Y	/	\underline{a}_N 'son'

TABLE 7.3

Suffixation of -an

7.2.6 The structure of this monosyllabic suffix can be expressed in phonological formulae as $-A^0 a_N$. The phonetic implication of this is a short vowel in the open range closed by a short alveolar nasal. This suffix

is often preceded by the animate (+hum.) gender suffix -kaar which never occurs word finally. In such instances, the internal junction between C final suffix -kaar and V initial suffix -an is characterized by / prosody. In this section, stems in which -an cooccurs with -kaar are conveniently handled under C final stem junctions. The suffix -an is statable after all types of non-C final stems, C final and C variable stems.

7.2.7 (a) The internal junction between Y-prosodic stems and this vocalic initial suffix is characterized by Y-prosody.

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} -I^Y \\ -E^Y \end{array} \right\} + A^0 \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} -I^Y \\ -E^Y \end{array} \right\} \quad Y \quad A^0$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
pee-y-an	C \bar{V} ^Y	Y	-A ⁰ a ^N	'a fool (mas.)'
uume-y-an	$\bar{V}CV$ ^Y	"	"	'a dump man'
cu]i-y-an	CVCV ^Y	"	"	'an artful dodger(mas.)'
mu]i-y-an	"	"	"	'man with staring eyes'
nari-y-an	"	"	"	'a cunning man'
koti-y-an	"	"	"	'a hot tempered man'
pe†i-y-an	"	"	"	'boy'
tame-y-an	"	"	"	'elder brother'
ve]]e-y-an	CV $\bar{C}V$ ^Y	"	"	'a white man'
can†i-y-an	CVN $\bar{C}V$ ^Y	"	"	'he who threatens with physical force'

koovi-y-an	$C\bar{V}CV^Y$	Y	$-A^0 a_N$	'a man of the corpse carrying caste'
muukkaRe-y-an	$CV\bar{C}VCV^Y$	"	"	'man with a deformed nose'

TABLE 7.4

7.2.8 (b) In the following isolated instance, the stem is W-prosodic and the internal junction is characterized by a short dental fricative as junctional element.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
oru-t-an	VCV^W	\bar{d}_F-	$-A^0 a_N$	'a man'

TABLE 7.5

7.2.9 (c) The internal junction between O-prosodic stems and this suffix is characterized by W-prosody.

$$-A^0 + A^0 \longrightarrow -A^0 W A^0$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
a-v-an	A^0	W	$-A^0 a_N$	'he'
vaaRa-v-an	$C\bar{V}CV^0$	"	"	'he who comes'
vanta-v-an	$CVN\bar{C}V^0$	"	"	'he who came'
conna-v-an	$CV\bar{C}V^0$	"	"	'he who told'
kottuRa-v-an	$CV\bar{C}VCV^0$	"	"	'he who cuts'
paṭicca-v-an	$CV\bar{C}VCV^0$	"	"	'he who studied'
paṭikkiRa-v-an	$CV\bar{C}VCV^0$	"	"	'he who studies'

TABLE 7.6

7.2.10 (d) In the following instances, the pronominal base is either Y-prosodic or W-prosodic and the internal junction is characterized by W-prosody.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
i-v-an	I ^Y	W	-A ^O a _N	'this man'
e-v-an	E ^Y	"	"	'which man'
u-v-an	I ^W	"	"	'this or that man'

TABLE 7.7

The first stem listed above (7.2.9) belongs to a set of pronominal forms which can be similarly segmented and which have the same junction between stem and suffix. But these forms (i-v-an , e-v-an and u-v-an) however cannot be accounted for by the same rule since the vowel that forms the stem is in no case in the open range. Moreover in two cases, the stem is Y-prosodic. The occurrence of junction in these two cases can therefore be regarded as exceptional.

7.2.11 (e) The internal junction between stems of the syllabic structure CVC and this suffix is characterized by the stem final short C element being realized as a long tense one (by g prosody).

$$CV \begin{Bmatrix} L \\ N \end{Bmatrix} + A^O - \quad CV \begin{Bmatrix} \bar{L} \\ \bar{N} \end{Bmatrix} A^O$$

Thus $ka] + an \rightarrow ka][an$. The examples given below should be interpreted with this in mind.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
ka[l]-an	CV ^r L	g	-A ⁰ a _N	'thief (mas.)'
lo[l]-an	"	"	"	'a useless man'
vin ⁿ -an	CV ^r N	"	"	'a clever man'
kan ⁿ -an	"	"	"	'a man with eyes'
koll-an	CV ^a L	"	"	'blacksmith'

TABLE 7.8

7.2.12 (f) The internal junction between C final stems and this suffix is characterized by /-prosody. The cooccurrence of -an with -kaar which is actually a feature of the interrelation between suffixes is also for the sake of convenience treated in this section.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
peer-an	CVC	/	-A ⁰ a _N	'grandson'
luu ^s -an [lu:sən]	"	"	"	'an insane man'
tami]-an	CVCVC	"	"	'a Tamil'
vi[a]-an	"	"	"	'a worthless man'
vicar-an	"	"	"	'an insane man'
aRutal-an	VCVCVC	"	"	'a widower'
timil-an	CVCVC	"	/	'a man of the fisherman's caste'
puukkaar-an	CVCVC	"	"	'he who plucks flowers'

erukkaar-an	VCV \bar{C} V \bar{C}	/	-A ^O a _N	'he who buys cow dung'
miinkaar-an	C \bar{V} NC \bar{V} \bar{C}	"	"	'fish seller (mas.)'
loRikkaar-an	CVCV \bar{C} V \bar{C}	"	"	'lorry driver(mas.)'
aluvaakkaar-an	VCVC \bar{V} \bar{C} V \bar{C}	"	"	'an eatable seller(mas.)'
etc.				

TABLE 7.10

7.2.13 (g) The internal junction between C variable stems that end in a vocalic element in their nominative case forms and this suffix is characterized by the elision of the stem final vocalic element.

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} C \\ \bar{C} \\ NC \end{array} \right\} I^W + A^O \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} C \\ \bar{C} \\ NC \end{array} \right\} I^W A^O$$

Thus pallu + an \rightarrow pallan . The examples given below should be interpreted with this in mind.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
pall-an	CV \bar{C} (V) ^W	-I ^W	-A ^O a _N	'man with protruding teeth'
tacc-an	"	"	"	'carpenter'
mokk-an	"	"	"	'a duffer (mas.)'
nanc-an	CVNC(V) ^W	"	"	'a venomous man'
vaakk-an	C \bar{V} \bar{C} (V) ^W	"	"	'a squint eyed man'
muukk-an	"	"	"	'a man with a prominent nose'

mooṭ-an	CVC(V) ^W	-ɹ ^W	-A ⁰ a _N	'a fool (mas.)'
tiruṭ-an	CVCVC(V) ^W	"	"	'thief (mas.)'
kuruṭ-an	"	"	"	'a blind man'
malaṭ-an	"	"	"	'an impotent man'
kiṭaṭ-an	"	"	"	'an old man'
ceviṭ-an	"	"	"	'a deaf man'
puṭuk-an	"	"	"	'he who boasts'
tarak-an	"	"	"	'a broker (mas.)'

TABLE 7.11

7.2.14 (h) The internal junction between C variable stems that have a final bilabial nasal in their nominative forms and this suffix is characterized by the elision of the stem final bilabial nasal and by W-prosody.

$$-V^0 b_N + A^0 \rightarrow -V^0 b_M W A^0$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
naṭa-v-an	CVCV(N)	b _M + W	-A ⁰ a _N	'a low caste man'
ciṅkaṭa-v-an	CVNCVCV(N)	"	"	'a Sinhalese man'
cempaṭa-v-an	CVNCVCV(N)	"	"	'a man of the fisherman's sub-caste'

TABLE 7.12

7.2.15 (i) In the following isolated instance, the marginal stem ends in a velar plosive and the internal junction is characterized by the short velar plosive C final of the stem being realized as a long tense one.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
kiRaakk-an [kra:k:ən]	CCV ^V P	g	-A ⁰ a _N	'an insane man'

TABLE 7.13

Suffixation of -aan

7.2.16 The structure of this monosyllabic suffix may be expressed in phonological formulae as $\bar{A}^0 a_N$. The suffix initial consists of a long vowel in the open region. It is closed by a short alveolar nasal. This suffix is statable after Y-prosodic and W-prosodic stems, C final and C variable stems. It may be noted that masculine nouns of origin of place of the native class are derived from place names only by the addition of this suffix.

7.2.17 (a) The internal junction between Y-prosodic stems and this vocalic initial suffix is characterized by

Y-prosody. $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} -I^Y \\ -E^Y \end{array} \right\} + \bar{A}^0 \left\{ \begin{array}{c} -I^Y \\ -E^Y \end{array} \right\} Y A^0$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
kare-y-aan	CVCV ^Y	Y	$\bar{A}^0 a_N$	'a man of the fisherman's caste'
civi-y-aan	"	"	"	'a man of the palanquin bearer's caste'
veelane-y-aan	CVCVCV ^Y			'a man residing at Veelane'
caṅkaane-y-aan	CVNCVCV ^Y			'a man residing at Caṅkaane'
ki inocci-y-aan	CVCVCVCV ^Y			'a man residing at Ki inocci'
tellippa e-y-aan	CVCVCVCV ^Y			'a man residing at Tellippa e'

TABLE 7.14

7.2.18 (b) The internal junction between W-prosodic stems and this suffix is characterized by W-prosody.

$$-I^W + \bar{A}^O \rightarrow -I^W \quad W \quad \bar{A}^O$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
aRu-v-aan	VCV ^W	W	$-\bar{A}^O$ ^a N	'a wretched man'
poo-v-aan	C \bar{V} ^W	"	"	'he to whom it will happen'
uure]u-v-aan	$\bar{V}CVCV$ ^W	"	"	'a man residing at Uure]u'

TABLE 7.15

7.2.19 (c) The internal junction between C final stems and this suffix is characterized by / prosody.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
inquvil-aan	VCVCVC	/	$-\bar{A}^O$ ^a N	'a man residing at Inquvil'
puttuur-aan	CV \bar{C} \bar{V} C	"	"	'a man residing at Puttuur'
ma[ttuvil-aan	CV \bar{C} VCVC	"	"	'a man residing at Ma[ttuvil'
kareyuur-aan	CVCVC \bar{V} C	"	"	'a man residing at Kareyuur'
paaceyuur-aan	C \bar{V} CVC \bar{V} C	"	"	'a man residing at Paaceyuur'
kokkuvil-aan	CV \bar{C} VCVC	"	"	'a man residing at Kokkuvil'

TABLE 7.16

7.2.20 (d) The internal junction between C variable stems that end in a vocalic element in their nominative forms and this suffix is characterized by the elision of the stem final

vocalic element. $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} C \\ \bar{C} \\ NC \end{array} \right\} I^W + A^O \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} C \\ \bar{C} \\ NC \end{array} \right\} I^W + \bar{A}^O$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
tiiv-aan	$C\bar{V}C(V)^W$	$-ɹ^W$	$-\bar{A}^O a_N$	'an islander (mas.)'
macc-aan	$CV\bar{C}(V)^W$	"	"	'cousin (mas.)'
ko]ump-aan	$CVCVNC(V)^W$	"	"	'a man residing in Ko]umpu'

TABLE 7.17

7.2.21 (e) The internal junction between C variable stems that end in a bilabial nasal in their nominative forms and this suffix is characterized by the elision of the stem final bilabial nasal and along tense dental plosive articulation as junctional element.

$$-V^O b_N + \bar{A}^O \rightarrow -V^O b_{\bar{N}} d_{\bar{P}} \bar{A}^O$$

Thus mallaakam + aan \rightarrow mallaakattaaan . The examples given below should be interpreted with this in mind.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
mallaaka-tt-aan	$CV\bar{C}\bar{V}CV(N)$	$-ɹ + d_{\bar{P}}$	$-\bar{A}^O$	'a man residing at Mallaakam'
cunnaaka-tt-aan	"	"	"	
yaa]ppaana-tt-aan	$C\bar{V}C\bar{C}\bar{V}CV(N)$	"	"	'a Jaffna man'

TABLE 7.18

FEMININE SINGULAR SUFFIXES

Suffixation of -]

7.2.22 This liquid suffix consists of a short retroflex lateral articulation. It is not productive of forms. It only occurs in one isolated instance with a Y-prosodic stem and the

junction is characterized by / prosody.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
mee-]	CV ^Y	/	r _L	'daughter'

TABLE 7.19

Suffixation of -a]

7.2.23 This vocalic initial monosyllabic suffix may be given the formulaic expression $-A^0 r_L$. The suffix initial is a short vowel in the open region. It is closed by a short retroflex lateral. It is statable mostly after O-prosodic stems.

7.2.24 (a) The internal junction between O-prosodic stems and this suffix is characterized by W-prosody (See 7.2.9).

$$-A^0 + A^0 \rightarrow -A^0 W A^0$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
a-v-a]	A ⁰	W	$-A^0 r_L$	'that woman'
vaaRa-v-a]	CVCV ⁰	"	"	'she who comes'
vanta-v-a]	CVNCV ⁰	"	"	'she who came'
conna-v-a]	CVCV ⁰	"	"	'she who told'
kuttuRa-v-a]	CVCVCV ⁰	"	"	'she who pounds'
kuttina-v-a]	CVCVCV ⁰	"	"	'she who pounded'
pa[icca-v-a]	CVCVCV ⁰	"	"	'she who studied'
pa[ikkiRa-v-a]	CVCVCVCV ⁰	"	"	'she who studies'

TABLE 7.20

7.2.25 (b) In the following instances, the demonstrative or interrogative pronominal base is either Y-prosodic or W-prosodic and the internal junction is characterized by W-prosody (See 7.2.10).

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
i-v-a]	I ^Y	W	-A ^O r _L	'this woman'
e-v-a]	E ^Y	"	"	'which woman'
u-v-a]	I ^W	"	"	'this or that woman'

TABLE 7.21

Suffixation of -aa]

7.2.26 The structure of this monosyllabic suffix may be represented in phonological formulae as $\bar{A}^O r_L$. The suffix initial consists of a long vowel in the open region. It is closed by a short retroflex lateral. This suffix is statable after Y-prosodic or W-prosodic stems, C final and C variable stems. All the native place names take only this suffix to form nouns of origin of place.

7.2.27 (a) The internal junction between Y-prosodic stems and this suffix is characterized by Y-prosody.

$$\begin{Bmatrix} -I^Y \\ -E^Y \end{Bmatrix} + \bar{A}^O \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} -I^Y \\ -E^Y \end{Bmatrix} Y \bar{A}^O$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
kare-y-aa]	CVCV ^Y	"	-A ^O r _L	'man of the fisherman's caste'
civi-y-aa]	"	"	"	'a woman of the palanquin bearer's caste'
veelane-y-aa]	CVCVCV ^Y	"	"	'a woman residing at Veelane'
canakaane-y-aa]	CVNCVCV ^Y	"	"	'a woman residing at Canakaane'
ki[inocci-y-aa]	CVCVCVCV ^Y	"	"	'a woman residing at Ki[inocci'

TABLE 7.22

7.2.28 (b) The internal junction between W-prosodic stems and this suffix is characterized by W-prosody.

$$-I^W + \bar{A}^O \rightarrow -I^W \ W \ \bar{A}^O$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
aRu-v-aa]	VCV ^W	W	$-\bar{A}^O \ r_L$	'a wretched woman'
poo-v-aa]	CV ^W	"	"	'she to whom it will happen'
uure[u-v-aa]	$\bar{V}CVCV^W$	"	"	'a woman residing at Veelane'

TABLE 7.23

7.2.29 (c) The internal junction between C final stems and this suffix is characterized by / prosody (See 7.2.19).

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
inquvil-aa]	VCVCVC	/	$-\bar{A}^O \ r_L$	'a woman residing at Inquvil'
puttuur-aa]	CV $\bar{C}\bar{V}C$	"	"	'a woman residing at Puttuur'
ma[\bar{t} uvil-aa]	CV $\bar{C}\bar{V}CVC$	"	"	'a woman residing at Ma \bar{t} uvil'
kokkuvil-aa]	CV $\bar{C}\bar{V}CVC$	"	"	'a woman residing at Kokkuvil'
kareyuur-aa]	CVCVC $\bar{V}C$	"	"	'a woman residing at Kareyuur'
paaceyuur-aa]	C $\bar{V}CVC\bar{V}C$	"	"	'a woman residing at Paaceyuur'

TABLE 7.24

7.2.30 (d) The internal junction between C variable stems that end in a vocalic element in their nominative forms and this suffix is characterized by the elision of the stem final vocalic element (See 7.2.20).

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} C \\ \bar{C} \\ NC \end{array} \right\} I^W + \bar{A}^O \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} C \\ \bar{C} \\ NC \end{array} \right\} I^W + \bar{A}^O$$

Thus $tiivu + aa] \rightarrow tiivaa]$. The examples given below should be interpreted with this in mind.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
tiiv-aa]	$C\bar{V}C(V)^W$	$-I^W$	$-\bar{A}^O r_L$	'an islander (fem.)'
macc-aa]	$C\bar{V}\bar{C}(V)^W$	"	"	'cousin (fem.)'
ko]ump-aa]	$CVCVNC(V)^W$	"	"	'a woman residing in Ko]umpu'

TABLE 7.25

7.2.31 (e) The internal junction between C variable stems that end in a bilabial nasal in their nominative forms and this suffix is characterized by the elision of the stem final bilabial nasal and a long tense dental plosive articulation as junctional element.

$$-V^O b_N + \bar{A}^O \rightarrow -V^O b_M d_{\bar{P}} \bar{A}^O$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
mallaaka-tt-aa]	$CV\bar{C}\bar{V}CV(N)$	$b_M + d_{\bar{P}}$	$-\bar{A}^O r_L$	'a woman from Mallaakam'
cunnaaka-tt-aa]	"	"	"	'a woman from Cunnaakam'
yaa]ppaana-tt-aa]	$CV\bar{C}\bar{C}\bar{V}CV(N)$	"	"	'a Jaffna woman'

TABLE 7.26

Suffixation of -i

7.2.32 This vocalic suffix may be given the formulaic expression $-I^Y$. It phonetically implies a short front

close vowel. It is statable after all non-C final stems, C final and C variable stems. It often cooccurs with the animate (+hum.) gender suffix -kaar.

7.2.33 (a) The internal junction between Y-prosodic stems and this vocalic suffix is characterized by a long tense affricate articulation.

$$\begin{Bmatrix} -I^Y \\ -E^Y \end{Bmatrix} + I^Y \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} -I^Y \\ -E^Y \end{Bmatrix} \quad \bar{Q} \quad I^Y$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
pee-cc-i	$C\bar{V}^Y$	$-\bar{Q}-$	$-I^Y$	'a fool (fem.)'
uume-cc-i	$\bar{V}CV^Y$	"	"	'a dump woman'
paRe-cc-i	$CVCV^Y$	"	"	'a woman of the tom-beater's caste'
ma \int e-cc-i	"	"	"	'a dunce (fem.)'
tan \int ke-cc-i	$CVN\bar{C}V^Y$	"	"	'younger sister'
kuppe-cc-i	$CV\bar{C}V^Y$	"	"	'a worthless woman'
ce \int i-cc-i	"	"	"	'a woman of the merchant caste'
koovi-cc-i	$C\bar{V}CV^Y$	"	"	'a woman of the corpse carrying caste'
ulakke-cc-i	$VCV\bar{C}V^Y$	"	"	'a woman of limited intelligence'
paRa η ki-cc-i	$CVCVN\bar{C}V^Y$	"	"	'a Burgher (fem.)'
maruttuvi-cc-i	$CVCV\bar{C}VCV^Y$	"	"	'a midwife'
muukkaRe-cc-i	$C\bar{V}CV\bar{C}V^Y$	"	"	'a woman with a deformed nose'

TABLE 7.27

7.2.34 (b) In the following isolated instance, the internal junction between a Y-prosodic stem and this suffix is characterized by W-prosody. This junctional prosody of labiovelari-

zation is in marked contrast to the junctional prosody of yotization set up for Y-prosodic stems throughout this work.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
tale-v-i	CVCV ^Y	W	-I ^Y	'president (fem.)'

TABLE 7.28

7.2.35 (c) The internal junction between O-prosodic stems and this suffix is characterized by a long tense dental plosive articulation. $\bar{A}^O + I^Y \rightarrow \bar{A}^O d_P I^Y$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
ta [†] aa-tt-i	CVCV ^O	d _P -	-I ^Y	'a woman of the goldsmith's caste'
vaṇṇaa-tt-i	"	"	"	'a woman of the washerman's caste'
caan [†] aa-tt-i	C ⁻ VNCV ^O	"	"	'a woman of the oil monger's caste'

TABLE 7.29

7.2.36 (d) In the following isolated instance, the stem is W-prosodic and the internal junction is characterized by a short dental fricative (See 7.2.8).

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
oru-t-in [oruði]	VCV ^W	d _P -	-I ^Y	'a woman'

TABLE 7.30

7.2.37 (e) The internal junction between stems of the syllabic structure CVC and this suffix is characterized by the stem final short C element being realized as a long tense one (by g prosody. See 7.2.11).

$$CV \begin{Bmatrix} L \\ N \end{Bmatrix} + I^Y \quad CV \begin{Bmatrix} L \\ N \end{Bmatrix} I^Y$$

Thus $ka \downarrow + i \rightarrow ka \downarrow i$. The examples given below should be interpreted with this in mind.

Rdg.Tpn. St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
$ka \downarrow -i$	CVL	g	$-I^Y$ 'thief (fem.)'
$vin \downarrow -i$	CVN	"	" 'a clever woman'

TABLE 7.31

7.2.38 (f) The internal junction between C variable stems that end in a vocalic element in their nominative forms and this suffix is characterized by the elision of the stem final vocalic element (See 7.2.13).

$$\begin{Bmatrix} C \\ \bar{C} \end{Bmatrix} I^W + I^Y \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} C \\ \bar{C} \end{Bmatrix} I^W I^Y$$

Thus $taccu + i \rightarrow tacci$. The examples given below should be interpreted with this in mind.

Rdg.Tpn. St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
$tacc-i$	$CVC(V)^W$	$-I^W$	$-I^Y$ 'a woman of the carpenter's caste'
$kuru \downarrow -i$	$CVCVC(V)^W$	"	" 'a blind woman'
$cevi \downarrow -i$	"	"	" 'a deaf woman'
$mala \downarrow -i$	"	"	" 'an impotent woman'
$ki \downarrow a \downarrow -i$	"	"	" 'an old woman'

TABLE 7.32

7.2.39 (g) Mention has already been made of the productive

way of forming agentive and feminine nouns from certain nominal stems of the marginal class which end in a bilabial nasal preceded by a vocalic element. The internal junction between such stems and this suffix is characterized by the elision of the stem final bilabial nasal and the preceding vocalic element (See 6.8.18).

$$-CV \text{ } ^b_N + I^Y \rightarrow cy \text{ } ^b_M I^Y$$

Thus viiram + i → viiri. The examples given below should be interpreted with this in mind.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
viir-i	CVC(V)(N)	-y ^b _M	-I ^Y	'a courageous woman'
paatak-i	CVCVC(V)(N)	"	"	'a sinner (fem.)'
cineekit-i	CVCVCVC(V)(N)	"	"	'friend (fem.)'
cakootar-i	CVCVCVC(V)(N)	"	"	'sister'

TABLE 7.33

7.2.40 (h) The internal junction between C final stems and this suffix is characterized by / prosody. The cooccurrence of -i with -kaar is also dealt with in this sub-section.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
vicar-i	CVGVC	/	-I ^Y	'a mad woman'
kumar-i	"	"	"	'a spinster'
manus-i	"	"	"	'a woman'
kaatal-i	CVCVC	"	"	'lover (fem.)'
kancal-i	CVNCVC	"	"	'a worthless woman'

aRutal-i	VCVCVC	/	-I ^Y	'a widow'
paal-k-kaar-i	CVCVCVC	"	"	'a milk woman'
Raal-k-kaar-i	"	"	"	'prawn seller (fem.)'
miin-kaar-i	CVCVCVC	"	"	'fish seller (fem.)'
ko]uval-k-kaar-i	CVCVCVCVCVC	"	"	'a quarrelsome woman'

TABLE 7.34

7.2.41 (i) The internal junction between C variable stems that end in a bilabial nasal in their nominative forms and this suffix is characterized by the elision of the stem final nasal and a long tense dental plosive articulation as junctional element.

$$-V^0 b_N + I^Y \rightarrow V^0 b_M d_P I^Y$$

Thus na]am + i \rightarrow na]atti . The examples given below should be interpreted with this in mind.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
na]a-tt-i	CVCV(N)	$b_M + d_P$	-I ^Y	'woman of the toddy tapper's caste'
ciina-tt-i	CVCV(N)	"	"	'a Chinese (fem.)'
coonaka-tt-i	CVCVCV(N)	"	"	'a moor (fem.)'
cin]ka]a-tt-i	CVNCVCV(N)	"	"	'a Sinhalese (fem.)'
piraamana-tt-i	CVCVCVCV(N)	"	"	'a Brahmin (fem.)'

TABLE 7.35

Suffixation of -a

7.2.42 The structure of this vocalic honorific feminine singular suffix may be expressed in phonological formulae

as $-\text{ə}^W$. The articulation involved is a short central vowel, between half-open and half-close. This suffix is statable after all types of non-C final stem.

7.2.43 (a) The internal junction between O-prosodic stems and this suffix is characterized by W-prosody.

$$-\text{A}^O + \text{Y} \rightarrow \text{A}^O \quad \text{W} \quad \text{Y}$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
vaaRa-v-a [ʋa:rʌʋə]	$\text{C}\bar{\text{V}}\text{CV}^O$	W	W	'she who comes (hon.)'
vanta-v-a [ʋʌndʌʋə]	CVNCV^O	"	"	'she who came (hon.)'
poona-v-a [po:nʌʋʌ]	$\text{C}\bar{\text{V}}\text{CV}^O$	"	"	'she who went (hon.)'
katekkaRa-va [kʌdek:irʌʋə]	$\text{CVCV}\bar{\text{C}}\text{VCV}^O$	"	"	'she who talks (hon.)'

TABLE 7.36

7.2.44 (b) In the following instances, the interrogative or demonstrative pronominal base is either Y-prosodic or W-prosodic and the internal junction is characterized by W-prosody (See 7.2.10 and 7.2.25).

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
i-v-a [iʋə]	I^Y	W	W	'this woman (hon.)'
e-v-a [eʋə]	E^Y	"	"	'which woman (hon.)'
u-v-a [uʋə]	W	"	"	'this or that woman (hon.)'

TABLE 7.37

Suffixation of -kaar

7.2.45 This monosyllabic animate (+hum.) gender suffix may be given the formulaic expression $\bar{V}_{PA}^0 f_L$. The suffix initial is a short voiceless velar plosive articulation. The medial vocalic element is a long vowel in the open region. The suffix final is a short alveolar flap articulation. This suffix final is statable after all types of non-C final and C final stems. As already explained in Chapter 5 (See 5.5.2) this suffix never occurs word finally and always precedes the masculine singular, feminine singular and epicene plural suffixes.

(a) The internal junction between non-C final stems and this suffix is characterized by g prosody.

$$-V + \bar{V}_{P-} \rightarrow -V \bar{V}_{P-}$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
kaRi-k-kaar-i	CVCV ^Y	g	$\bar{V}_{PA}^0 f_L$	'fish seller(fem.)'
ka [†] e-k-kaar-an	"	"	"	'shop keeper(mas.)'
ke ^{††} i-k-kaar-i	CV \bar{C} V ^Y	"	"	'a clever woman'
picce-k-kaar-an	"	"	"	'a begger (mas.)'
tan [†] ti-k-kaar-an	CVN \bar{C} V ^Y	"	"	'telegram messenger (mas.)'
raakci-k-kaar-an	C \bar{V} CCV ^Y	"	"	'taxi driver(mas.)'
ki ^{††} an [†] ki-k-kaar-an	CV \bar{C} VN \bar{C} V ^Y	"	"	'shop owner (mas.)'
muspaatti-k-kaar-an	CVCC \bar{V} \bar{C} V ^Y	"	"	'an entertaining person (mas.)'

eru-k-kaar-an	VCV ^W	g	$\bar{V}PA^0 f_L$	'he who buys cow dung'
Riccoo-k-kaar-an	CV $\bar{C}V^W$	"	"	'a rickshaw puller(mas.)'
puu-k-kaar-an	C \bar{V}^W	"	"	'he who plucks flowers'
s [†] uu [†] iyoo-k-kaar-an	CC $\bar{V}CVCV^W$	"	"	'studio owner'
[†] ayinamoo-k-kaar-an	CVCVCVC \bar{V}^W	"	"	'dynamo owner'
akkaa-k-kaar-i	V $\bar{C}V^0$	"	"	'elder sister'
aluvaa-k-kaar-an	VCVC \bar{V}^0	"	"	'an eatable seller'
intiyaa-k-kaar-ar	VNCVC \bar{V}^0	"	"	'Indians'
puru [†] aa-k-kaar-an	CVCVC \bar{V}^0	"	"	'trickster (mas.)'
ta-k-kaar-i	CV ^Y	"	"	'mother'
[tæk:a:ɿi]	"	"	"	'a north Indian merchant (mas.)'
pa-k-kaar-an	"	"	"	
[bæk:a:ɿən]				

TABLE 7.38

7.2.46 (b) In the following instances, the stems are Y-prosodic and the internal junction is characterized by

$$\notin \text{prosody.} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{c} -I^Y \\ -E^Y \end{array} \right\} + V_{P-} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{c} -I^Y \\ -E^Y \end{array} \right\} \notin_{F-}$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
ku [†] i-kaar-an	CVCV ^Y	\notin	$\bar{V}PA^0 f_L$	'he who is addicted to liquor'
[ku [†] iha:ɿən]				
veRi-kaar-an	"	"	"	'an intoxicated man'
[veRiha:ɿən]				
kole-kaar-an	"	"	"	'a murderer (mas.)'
[kolɛha:ɿən]				
pa [†] i-kaar-an	"	"	"	'a sinner (mas.)'
[p [†] iha:ɿən]				

TABLE 7.39

7.2.47 (c) The internal junction between stems with a C final nasal other than a bilabial nasal and this suffix is characterized by the prosody of voicing (symbolised by the subscript as +v).

$$\begin{array}{c} a/r/v \\ -N \end{array} + \begin{array}{c} v \\ P- \end{array} \rightarrow \begin{array}{c} a/r/v \\ -N \end{array} \begin{array}{c} P- \\ +v \end{array}$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
paan-kaar-an	\overline{CV}^rN	+v	$\overline{vPA}^0 f_L$	'bread seller (mas.)'
miin-kaar-an	CV^aN	"	"	'fish seller (mas.)'
ka [†] an-kaar-an	$CVCV^aN$	"	"	'creditor (mas.)'
pepcan-kaar-an	$CVNCV^aN$	"	"	'pensioner (mas.)'
caluun-kaar-an	$CVC\overline{V}^aN$	"	"	'(barber) saloon owner'
paluun-kaar-an	"	"	"	'balloon seller (mas.)'
mooccan-kaar-an	$CVC\overline{V}^aN$	"	"	'jaws harp player (mas.)'

TABLE 7.40

7.2.48 (d) The internal junction between liquid C final stems and this suffix is characterized by g prosody.

$$-L + \begin{array}{c} v \\ P- \end{array} \rightarrow -L^v\overline{P}-$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
uur-k-kaar-an	\overline{V}^fL	g	$\overline{vPA}^0 f_L$	'man of the village'
paal-k-kaar-an	CV^aL	"	"	'milkman'
kaar-k-kaar-an	CV^fL	"	"	'cardriver'
mee]-k-kaar-i	CV^rL	"	"	'daughter'
peeppar-k-kaar-an	$CVCV^fL$	"	"	'newspaper seller'
van [†] il-k-kaar-an	$CVNCV^aL$	"	"	'carter'

TABLE 7.41

7.2.49 (e) The internal junction between C variable stems that end in a bilabial nasal and this suffix is characterized by the elision of the stem final nasal and g prosody.

$$-v^0 b_N + v_P- \rightarrow -v^0 b_M v_P-$$

Thus appam + kaar + i appakkaari . The examples given below should be interpreted with this in mind.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	Gloss
appa-k-kaar-i	$V\bar{C}V^b(N)$	$b_M + g$	'hopper seller (fem.)'
rooca-k-kaar-an	$C\bar{V}C\bar{V}^b(N)$	"	'one with a sense of shame (mas.)'
taara-k-kaar-an	"	"	'a married man'
paṇa-k-kaar-ar	$CVCV^b(N)$	"	'wealthy people'
conta-k-kaar-an	$CVNCV^b(N)$	"	'relative (mas.)'
kaariya-k-kaar-an	$CVCVCV^b(N)$	"	'man of business'

TABLE 7.42

7.2.50 (f) In the following instances, the internal junction between C variable stems that end in a bilabial nasal and this suffix is characterized by the elision of the stem final nasal and g prosody.

$$-v^0 b_N + v_P- \rightarrow v^0 b_M g_P-$$

Thus mee]am + kaar + an \rightarrow mee]akaaran . The examples given below should be interpreted with this in mind.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
mee]a-kaar-an [me:]^ha:ɕən]	$C\bar{V}C\bar{V}^b(N)$	$b_M + g$	$v_P\bar{A}^0 f_L$	'drummer (mas.)'
virata-kaar-an [vɪɾa^ʔha:ɕən]	$CVCVCV^b(N)$	"	"	'one observing a fast (mas.)'

uttiyooka-kaar-an $V\bar{C}VC\bar{V}CV^b(N)$ $\frac{b}{M} + \frac{g}{g}$ $\bar{V}PA^0 f_L$ 'one holding a job (mas.)'
 [ut:ijo:haha:fən]

TABLE 7.43

7.2.51 (j) The internal junction between C final stems that end in a plosive or affricate and this suffix is characterized by \neq prosody.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
voo[-kaar-ar	$C\bar{V}^rP$	\neq	$\bar{V}PA^0 f_L$	'voters'
layi[-kaar-an [lajitka:fən]	$CVCV^aP$	"	"	'an electrician (mas.)'
mayik-kaar-an	$CVCV^VP$	"	"	'an owner of a microphone (mas.)'
vaac-kaar-an [va:t[ka:fən]	$C\bar{V}Q$	"	"	'an owner of a wrist watch'
kaRaac-kaar-an [gara:t[ka:fən]	$CVC\bar{V}Q$	"	"	'garage owner (mas.)'

TABLE 7.44

7.2.52 The internal junction between C variable stems that end in a vocalic element in their nominative forms and this suffix is characterized by the same prosodic features stated for constant W-prosodic stems (See table 7.38). So they are not treated here.

Suffixation of -caali

7.2.53 The structure of this disyllabic animate (+hum.) gender suffix may be expressed in phonological formulae as $\bar{a}_{FA}^0 a_{LI}^Y$. The initial syllable consists of a short alveolar fricative followed by a long vowel in the open

region. The final syllable consists of a short alveolar lateral followed by a short front close vowel. This suffix may denote a male or female in the singular. It is statable after Y-prosodic stems and C variable stems that end in a bilabial nasal in their nominative forms.

7.2.54 (a) The internal junction between Y-prosodic stems and this suffix is characterized by / prosody.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
putti-caali	CVCV ^Y	/	a _{FA} ^O a _{LI} ^Y	'an intelligent person'
muu]e-caali	CVCV ^Y	"	"	'a brainy person'
tiRame-caali	CVCVCV ^Y	"	"	'a skilled person'

TABLE 7.45

7.2.55(b) The internal junction between C variable stems that end in a bilabial nasal in their nominative form and this suffix is characterized by the elision of the stem final bilabial nasal. $-V^O b_N + a_F- \rightarrow -V^O b_N a_F-$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
kuna-caali	CVCV ^{b(N)}	b _N	a _{FA} ^O a _{LI} ^Y	'a good person'
tayiriya-caali	CVCVCVCV ^{b(N)}	"	"	'a courageous person'
anupava-caali	VCVCVCV ^{b(N)}	"	"	'an experienced person'

TABLE 7.46

NEUTER SINGULAR SUFFIX

Suffixation of -tu

7.2.56 This monosyllabic suffix may be given the

formulaic expression \underline{d}_{PI}^W . The suffix syllable consists of a short voiceless dental plosive followed by a short back close vowel. This suffix is statable only after all types of Non-C final stem.

The internal junction between non-C final stems and this suffix is characterized by the suffix initial plosive being realized as a dental fricative. $V + \underline{d}_{PI}^W \rightarrow V \underline{d}_{FI}^W$

Rdg.Tpn.	Jtn.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
i-tu [ið̥u]	I ^Y	$\underline{d}_P \rightarrow \underline{d}_F$	\underline{d}_{PI}^W	'this thing'
e-tu [eð̥u]	E ^Y	"	"	'which thing'
u-tu [uð̥u]	I ^W	"	"	'this or that thing'
a-tu [ʌð̥u]	A ^O	"	"	'that thing'
pooRa-tu [po:rʌð̥u]	ʌA ^O	"	"	'going'
vaŋkina-tu [ʋa:ŋginʌð̥u]	"	"	"	'that which was bought'

TABLE 7.47

NUMBER SYSTEM

7.2.57 In this section, the plural suffixes taken by nominal stems are discussed. The masculine plural suffixes are -ka] and -ave. The feminine plural suffixes are -ka] and -ave.

The epicene plural suffixes are -r , -ar , -aar , -maar and -ave. The neuter plural suffix is -ka] . The masculine plural suffix -ka] , feminine plural suffix -ka] , epicene plural suffix -ka] , and the neuter plural suffix -ka] are homophonous with each other and so all the four suffixes will be expressed by the same phonological formulae. But each of them will be differently numbered (as (1),(2),(3) and (4)) within brackets for purpose of identification. The masculine plural suffix -ave is homophonous with the feminine plural suffix -ave and so both these suffix structures will be expressed by the same phonological formulae and numbered (as (1) and (2)) within brackets for identification purpose.

MASCULINE PLURAL

Suffixation of -ka] (1)

7.2.58 The structure of this plosive initial monosyllabic plural suffix may be expressed in phonological formulae as $v_{PA}^0 r_L$. The suffix initial consists of a short voiceless velar plosive articulation. The medial vocalic element is a short vowel in the open region. The suffix final is a short retroflex lateral. This suffix is statable after Y-prosodic stems and C final stems ending in an alveolar nasal.

7.2.59 (a) The internal junction between Y-prosodic stems and this plosive initial suffix is characterized by q prosody.

$$-I^Y + v_{PA}^0 r_L \rightarrow I^Y \quad Y A^0 r_L$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
pe ^l i-ka] [pe ^l i ^{jə}]	CVCV ^Y	q	^v PA ⁰ r _L	'boys'
aacaami-ka] [a:sa:mijə]	^v C ^v CVCV ^Y	"	"	'men of shady character'
Ravu ^l i-ka] [rʌvʊ ^{jə}]	CVCVCV ^Y	"	"	'rowdy men'
kaavaali-ka] [ka:va:lijə]	C ^v C ^v CVCV ^Y	"	"	'unruly men'

TABLE 7.48

7.2.60 (b) The internal junction between C final stems ending in an alveolar nasal and this plosive initial suffix is characterized by the stem final alveolar nasal being realized as a velar nasal (h prosody) and the suffix initial voiceless plosive being voiced (+v prosody. See 6.6.23 and 7.2.103).

$$\text{a}_N + \text{v}_P \rightarrow \text{a}_N \text{v}_P\text{-} \\ \text{+v}$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
avan-ka] [ʌvəŋgə]	VCV ^a N	h & +v	^v PA ⁰ r _L	'those men'
evan-ka] [eʋəŋgə]	"	"	"	'which men'

- The stem pe^li may optionally take the masculine singular suffix -an (pe^li-y-an) and then form the plural with -ka] (pe^liyan-ka]). See 7.2.60.

pe ^t iyan-ka]	CVCVCV ^a N	h & +v	^v PA ⁰ r _L	'boys'
[pe ^t ijəŋgə]				
paReyan-ka]	"	"	"	'men of the tom- beater's caste'
[pa ^r ejəŋgə]				
u ^t uvilaan-ka]	VCVCVCV ^a N	"	"	'men residing at u ^t uvil'
[u ^t uvila:ŋgə]				

TABLE 7.49

Suffixation of -ave (1)

7.2.61 This disyllabic vocalic initial plural suffix may be given the formulaic expression $-A^0 \overset{-p}{Z}E^Y$. The suffix initial is a short vowel in the open region. The medial consonantal element is a short labio-dental continuant articulation. The suffix final is a short vocalic articulation between half-close and open, but nearer half-open than open.

7.2.62 This suffix is statable after all types of non-C final and C final stems. All the stems are either proper nouns or those denoting professions or kinship terms.

7.2.63 (a) The internal junction between Y-prosodic stems and this vocalic initial suffix is characterized by Y-prosody.

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} -I^Y \\ -E^Y \end{array} \right\} + A^0 \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} -I^Y \\ -E^Y \end{array} \right\} Y A^0$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
ki i-y-ave	CVCV ^Y	Y	$-A^0 \overset{-p}{Z}E^Y$	'Ki i and others'
vitti-y-ave	CVCV ^Y	"	"	'Vitti and others'

tampi-y-ave	CVNCV ^Y	Y	-A ^{O-P} ZE ^Y	'younger brother and others'
ciini-y-ave	CVCV ^Y	"	"	'Ciini and others'
vitaane-y-ave	CVCVCV ^Y	"	"	'headman and others'

TABLE 7.50

7.2.64 (b) The internal junction between W or O-prosodic stems and this suffix is characterized by / prosody.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
muttu-ave [mut:uΛθε]	CVCV ^W	/	-A ^{O-P} ZE ^Y	'Muttu and others'
raamu-ave [ta:mmΛθε]	CVCV ^W	"	"	'Raamu and others'
paalaa-ave [ba:la:Λθε]	CVCV ^O	"	"	'Paalaa and others'
raacaa-ave [ta:sa:Λθε]	"	"	"	'Raacaa and others'
appukkaattu-ave [Λp:wk:a:t:uΛθε]	VVCVCVCV ^W	"	"	'advocate and others'
nottaaricu-ave [not:a:fisΛθε]	CVCVCVCV ^W	"	"	'notary and others'

TABLE 7.51

7.2.65 (c) The internal junction between non-plosive C final stems and this suffix is characterized by / prosody.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
luutar-ave	CVCV ^f L	/	-A ^{O-P} ZE ^Y	'Luutar and others'
maa[t]in-ave	CVCV ^a N	"	"	'Maa[t]in and others'
alvis-ave	VCCV ^a F	"	"	'Alvis and others'

t̪aaniyel-ave	CVCVCV ^a L	/	-A ⁰ ^{-P} ZE ^Y	't̪aaniyel and others'
inspeRRar-ave	VCCCV ^f L	"	"	'inspector and others'
attaan-ave	V ^a N	"	"	'brother-in-law and others'
celvam-ave	CVCCV ^b N	"	"	'Celvam and others'
caan̪tas-ave	CVCNCV ^a F	"	"	'Caan̪tas and others'

TABLE 7.52

7.2.66 (d) The internal junction between plosive C final stems and this suffix is characterized by g prosody.

$$-P + A^0 \rightarrow -PA^0$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
yeekkapp-ave	CVCV ^b P	g	-A ⁰ ^{-P} ZE ^Y	'Yeekkap and others'
[ɔ̌e:k:ʌp:ʌʊɛ]				
alpee̪t̪-ave	VCCV ^a P	"	"	'Alpee̪t̪ and others'
[ʌbe:t̪:ʌʊɛ]				
t̪eevi̪t̪-ave	CVCV ^r P	"	"	't̪eevi̪t̪ and others'
[d̪e:ʋi̪t̪:ʌʊɛ]				
t̪ominikk-ave	CVCVCV ^v P	"	"	't̪ominik and others'
[d̪ominik:ʌʊɛ]				
mekkaanikk-ave	CV ^a V ^v P	"	"	'mechanic and others'
[mek:a:nik:ʌʊɛ]				

TABLE 7.53

FEMININE PLURAL

Suffixation of -ka] (2)

7.2.67 This suffix is statable only after Y-prosodic stems. The internal junction between Y-prosodic stems and

this plosive initial suffix is characterized by q prosody.

$$-I^Y + \underline{V}PA^O r_L \rightarrow I^Y \underline{YA}^O r_L$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
ka[i-ka] [kʌ:ijə]	CV \bar{C} V ^Y	q	$\underline{V}PA^O r_L$	'thieves (fem.)'
pe[e-ka] [pe:ejə]	"	"	"	'girls'
ce[icci-ka] [se:it:ijə]	CV \bar{C} V \bar{C} V ^Y	"	"	'women of the merchant caste'
coonakatti-ka] [so:nʌhʌt:ijə]	C \bar{V} CVCVC \bar{V} V ^Y	"	"	'Moors (fem.)'
cin[ka]atti-ka] [singʌʌt:ijə]	CVNVCVCVCV ^Y	"	"	'Sinhalese (fem.)'

TABLE 7.54

Suffixation of -ave (2)

7.2.68 This suffix is statable after all types of Non-C final and C final stems.

7.2.69 (a) The internal junction between Y-prosodic stems and this vocalic initial suffix is characterized by

$$Y\text{-prosody. } -I^Y + A^O \rightarrow -I^Y \underline{YA}^O$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
aacci-y-ave	$\bar{V}CV^Y$	Y	$-A^O \bar{Z}E^Y$	'grandmother and others'
rati-y-ave	CVCV ^Y	"	"	'Rati and others'
[tʌðijʌʊɛ]				
teevi-y-ave	CVCV ^Y	"	"	'Teevi and others'

meeri-y-ave	$C\bar{V}CV^Y$	Y	$-A^{O-P}ZE^Y$	'Meeri and others'
tañci-y-ave	$CVN\bar{C}V^Y$	"	"	'Tañci and others'
caavittiri-y-ave	$C\bar{V}C\bar{V}C\bar{V}CV^Y$	"	"	'Caavittiri and others'

TABLE 7.55

7.2.70 (b) The internal junction between W or O-prosodic stems and this vocalic initial suffix is characterized by / prosody.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
puu-ave	$C\bar{V}^W$	/	$-A^{O-P}ZE^Y$	'Puu and others'
intu-ave	$VNCV^W$	"	"	'Intu and others'
ponnu-ave	$CV\bar{C}V^W$	"	"	'Ponnu and others'
manoo-ave	$CVCV^W$	"	"	'Manoo and others'
tireecaa-ave	$CVC\bar{V}C\bar{V}^O$	"	"	'Tireecaa and others'
ciRiimaa-ave	$CVC\bar{V}C\bar{V}^O$	"	"	'CiRiimaa and others'
cakuntalaa-ave	$CVCVN\bar{C}V\bar{C}V^O$	"	"	'Cakuntalaa and others'

TABLE 7.56

7.2.71 (c) The internal junction between C final stems and this suffix is characterized by / prosody.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
alis-ave	VCV^aF	/	$-A^{O-P}ZE^Y$	'Alis and others'
yookam-ave	$C\bar{V}CV^bN$	"	"	'Yookam and others'
nees-ave	$C\bar{V}^aF$	"	"	'nurse and others'
loo [†] tan-ave	$C\bar{V}CV^aN$	"	"	'Loo [†] tan and others'
icapel-ave	$VCVCV^aL$	"	"	'Icapel and others'

maccaa]-ave	CVCV ^r L	/	-A ⁰ ZE ^Y	'cousin and others'
puuraṇam-ave	CVCVCV ^b N	"	"	'Puuraṇam and others'

TABLE 7.57

EPICENE PLURALSuffixation of -r

7.2.72 This liquid suffix may be given the formulaic expression \underline{f}_L . It involves a short alveolar flap articulation.

7.2.73 This suffix is taken by O-prosodic stems and C variable stems ending in a bilabial nasal in nominative forms.

7.2.74 (a) The internal junction between O-prosodic stems and this suffix is characterized by / prosody (See 7.2.3).

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn. S.	Gloss
cemmaa-r	CV ⁰	/ \underline{f}_L	'those of the cobbler's caste'
taṭṭaa-r	"	"	'those of the goldsmith's caste'
vaṇṇaa-r	"	"	'those of the washerman's caste'
kannaa-r	"	"	'those of the idol craftsman's caste'
caanṭaa-r	C ⁰ VNCV ⁰	"	'those of the oil monger's caste'

TABLE 7.58

7.2.75 (b) The internal junction between C variable stems that end in a bilabial nasal in their nominative forms and this suffix is characterized by the elision of the stem final bilabial nasal (See 7.2.4).

$$-V^0 b_N + \underline{f}_L \rightarrow -V^0 b_N \underline{f}_L$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
ciina-r	CVCV ^b (N)	b _M	f _L	'Chinese'
coonaka-r	CVCVCV ^b (N)	"	"	'Moors'
ampa [†] a-r	VNCVCV ^b (N)	"	"	'those of the barber's caste'
piraamana-r	CVCVCVCV ^b (N)	"	"	'those of the Brahmin's caste'

TABLE 7.59

Suffixation of -ar

7.2.76 The structure of this vocalic initial suffix may be expressed in phonological formulae as $-A^0 f_L$. The suffix initial is a short vocalic element in the open region. It is closed by a short alveolar flap consonantal articulation.

This suffix is taken by Y-prosodic stems and all types of C final stems.

7.2.77 (a) The internal junction between Y-prosodic stem and this vocalic initial suffix is characterized by Y-prosody (See 7.2.7). $-I^Y + A^0 \rightarrow -I^Y Y A^0$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
paRe-y-ar	CVCV ^Y	Y	$-A^0 f_L$	'those of the tom-beater's caste'
ma [†] e-y-ar	"	"	"	'fools'
koovi-y-ar	"	"	"	'those of the corpse carrying caste'
ceen [†] i-y-ar	"	"	"	'those of the weaver's caste'

TABLE 7.60

7.2.78 (b) The internal junction between stems of the syllabic structure CVC and this suffix is characterized by the stem final short C element being realized as a long tense one (by g prosody. See 7.2.11).

$$CV \begin{Bmatrix} L \\ N \end{Bmatrix} + A^0 \rightarrow CV \begin{Bmatrix} \bar{L} \\ \bar{N} \end{Bmatrix} A^0$$

Thus kol + ar \rightarrow kollar . The examples given below should be interpreted with this in mind.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
koll-ar	CV ^a L	g	-A ⁰ f _L	'blacksmiths'
ka]]-ar	CV ^r L	"	"	'thieves'
lo]]-ar	"	"	"	'useless persons'
vinṇ-ar	CV ^r N	"	"	'clever persons'

TABLE 7.61

7.2.79 (c) The internal junction between liquid C final stems and this suffix is characterized by / prosody. The cooccurrence of -ar with -kaar which is actually a feature of the interrelation between suffixes is also for the sake of convenience treated in this sub-section (See 7.2.12).

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
timil-ar	CVCV ^a L	/	-A ⁰ f _L	'those of the fisherman's sub-caste'
vi]al-ar	"	"	"	'useless persons'

vicar-ar	CVCV ^f _L	/	-A ⁰ ^f _L	'mad persons'
tami _l -ar	CVCV ^r _L	"	"	'Tamils'
kaarkkaar-ar	C [̄] VCCV ^f _L	"	"	'car drivers'
payanakkkaar-ar	CVCVCVC [̄] V ^f _L	"	"	'travellers'
koovakkaar-ar	C [̄] VVCVCV ^f _L	"	"	'angry persons'

TABLE 7.62

7.2.80 (d) The internal junction between C variable stems that end in a vocalic element in their nominative forms and this suffix is characterized by the elision of the stem final vocalic element (See 7.2.13 and 7.2.38).

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} C \\ \bar{C} \end{array} \right\} I^W + A^0 \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} C \\ \bar{C} \end{array} \right\} \gamma^W A^0$$

Thus mala_lu + ar → mala_lar . The examples given below should be interpreted with this in mind.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
mala _l -ar	CVCVCV ^W)	-γ ^W	-A ⁰ ^f _L	'impotent persons'
kuru _l -ar	"	"	"	'blind persons'
cevi _l -ar	"	"	"	'deaf persons'
tarak -ar	"	"	"	'brokers'
tacc-ar	CVCV ^W)	"	"	'carpenters'
mo _l -ar	"	"	"	'low caste persons'
moo _l -ar	C [̄] V ^W)	"	"	'folls'

TABLE 7.63

7.2.81 (e) The internal junction between C variable stems

that have a bilabial nasal in their nominative forms and this suffix is characterized by the elision of the stem final bilabial nasal and by W-prosody (See 7.2.14).

$$-V^0 b_N + A^0 \rightarrow -V^0 b_W A^0$$

Thus $na[am + ar \rightarrow na[avar$. The examples given below should be interpreted with this in mind.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
na[a-v-ar	CVCV ^b (N)	$b_N + W$	$-A^0 f_L$	'those of the toddy tapper's caste'
ciŋka[a-v-ar	CVNCVCV ^b (N)	"	"	'Sinhalese'
cempa[a-v-ar	CVNCVCV ^b (N)	"	"	'those of the fisher- man's sub-caste'

TABLE 7.64

7.2.82 (f) In the following instance, the C final stem ends in a short voiceless velar plosive and the internal junction is characterized by the short velar plosive being realized as a long tense one (by g prosody. See 7.2.15).

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
kattoolikk-ar	CV \bar{C} V \bar{C} V ^V P	g	$-A^0 f_L$	'catholic people'

TABLE 7.65

Suffixation of -aar

7.2.83 The structure of this vocalic initial suffix may be expressed in phonological formulae as $-A^0 f_L$. Phonetically, it implies a long vowel articulation in the open range which is closed by a short alveolar flap articulation.

This suffix is taken by Y and W-prosodic stems,

constant and variable C final stems.

7.2.84 (a) The internal junction between Y-prosodic stems and this vocalic initial suffix is characterized by Y-prosody (See 7.2.17 and 7.2.27).

$$-I^Y + \bar{A}^O \rightarrow -I^Y \quad Y \quad A^O$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
civi-y-aar	CVCV ^Y	Y	$\bar{A}^O f_L$	'those of the palanquin bearer's caste'
kare-y-aar	"	"	"	'those of the fisherman's caste'
veelane-y-aar	CVCVCV ^Y	"	"	'those residing at Veelane'
taavaṭi-y-aar	CVCVCV ^Y	"	"	'those residing at Taavaṭi'
koṭṭaṭi-y-aar	CVCVCV ^Y	"	"	'those residing at Koṭṭaṭi'

TABLE 7.66

7.2.85 (b) In the following instances, the stem is W-prosodic and the internal junction is characterized by W-prosody.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
uureṭu-v-aar	VVCV ^W	W	$\bar{A}^O f_L$	'those residing at Uureṭu'
(paRaṅki-t-) teru-v-aar	CVCV ^W	"	"	'those residing at (Main) street'

TABLE 7.67

7.2.86 (c) The internal junction between constant C final stems and this suffix is characterized by / prosody (See 7.2.19 and 7.2.29).

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
nalluur-aar	$C\bar{V}C\bar{V}^fL$	/	$-A^O fL$	'those residing at Nalluur'
paaceyuur-aar	$C\bar{V}C\bar{V}C\bar{V}^fL$	"	"	'those residing at Paaceyuur'
inuvil-aar	$VCVCV^aL$	"	"	'those residing at Inuvil'
u ⁺ uvil-aar	"	"	"	'those residing at U ⁺ uvil'
cinkappuur-aar	$CVNCVC\bar{V}^fL$	"	"	'those residing in Singapore'

TABLE 7.68

7.2.87 (d) The internal junction between C variable stems that end in a vocalic element in their nominative forms and this suffix is characterized by the elision of the stem final vocalic element (See 7.2.20 and 7.2.30).

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} C \\ \bar{C} \\ NC \end{array} \right\} I^W + \bar{A}^O \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} C \\ \bar{C} \\ NC \end{array} \right\} I^W \bar{A}^O$$

Thus tiivu + aar tiivaar . The examples given below should be interpreted with this in mind.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
tiiv-aar	$C\bar{V}CV^W$	$-I^W$	$-A^O fL$	'islanders'
ko ⁺ ump-aar	$CVCVNCV^W$	"	"	'those residing in Colombo'
ma ⁺ [akka]app-aar	$CV\bar{C}V\bar{C}V\bar{C}V^W$	"	"	'those from Batticaloa'

TABLE 7.69

7.2.88 (e) The internal junction between C variable stems that end in a bilabial nasal in their nominative forms and this suffix is characterized by the elision of the

stem final bilabial nasal and by a long tense dental plosive articulation as junctional element (See 7.2.21 and 7.2.31).

$$-V^0 b_N + \bar{A}^0 \rightarrow -V^0 b_M d_P \bar{A}^0$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
cunnaaka-tt-aar	CV \bar{C} V \bar{C} V ^{b(N)}	$b_M + d_P$	$\bar{A}^0 f_L$	'those from Cunnaakam'
mallaaka-tt-aar	"	"	"	'those from Mallaakam'
yaa[ppaana-tt-aar	CV \bar{C} \bar{C} V \bar{C} V ^{b(N)}	"	"	'Jaffna people'
cilaava-tt-aar	CVC \bar{C} V \bar{C} V ^{b(N)}	"	"	'people of Cilaavam'

TABLE 7.70

Suffixation of -ka] (3)

7.2.89 This epicene plural suffix is statable after Y-prosodic stems and C final (pronominal) stems ending in an alveolar nasal.

7.2.90 (a) The internal junction between Y-prosodic stems and this plosive initial suffix is characterized by q prosody. $-I^Y + v_{PA}^0 r_L \rightarrow -I^Y Y A^0 r_L$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
pi]le-ka]	CV \bar{C} V ^Y	q	$v_{PA}^0 r_L$	'children'
[pi]:ejə]				
ku]ante-ka]	CVCVN \bar{C} V ^Y	"	"	"
[ku]n nd ejə]				
iippiṇi-ka]	V \bar{C} V \bar{C} V ^Y	"	"	'misers'
[i:p:iṇijə]				
kacavaari-ka]	CVCVC \bar{C} V ^Y	"	"	"
[ka]sa:rijə]				

ave-ka]	VCV ^Y	q	\bar{V}_{PA}^0 r _L	'those persons'
[\wedge uejə]				
ive-ka]	"	"	"	'these persons'
[ι uejə]				

TABLE 7.71

7.2.91 (b) In the following isolated instance, the stem is Y-prosodic and the internal junction is characterized by a short velar nasal as junctional element and by the prosody of voicing.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
nii-ŋ-ka]	C \bar{V}^Y	\bar{V}_N - & +v	\bar{V}_{PA}^0 r _L	'you'

TABLE 7.72

7.2.92 (c) The internal junction between C final (pronominal) stems ending in an alveolar nasal and this suffix is characterized by h-prosody and the prosody of voicing.

$$(C) V^a N + \bar{V}_{P-} \rightarrow (C) V^{\bar{V}_N} \bar{V}_{P-}^{+v}$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
en-ka]	V ^a N	h & +v	\bar{V}_{PA}^0 r _L	'we (oblique form)'
[eŋgə]				
un-ka]	"	"	"	'you (oblique form)'
[uŋgə]				
tan-ka]	CV ^a N	"	"	'they (oblique form)'
[təŋgə]				
naan-ka]	C \bar{V}^a N	"	"	'we (nominative form)'
[na:ŋgə]				
taan-ka]	"	"	"	'they (reflexive)'
[ta:ŋgə]				

TABLE 7.73

Suffixation of -maar

7.2.93 The structure of this nasal initial animate plural suffix can be expressed in phonological formulae as $b_{NA}^{-O} f_L$. The suffix initial consists of a short bilabial plosive articulation. The medial vocalic element is a long vowel in the open region. The suffix final consonant is a short alveolar flap articulation.

7.2.94 This suffix is statable after all types of non-C final stems, constant C final stems and C variable stems ending in a plosive. In all such instances, the internal junction is characterized by / prosody.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
empi-maar	VNCV ^Y	/	$b_{NA}^{-O} f_L$	'members of parliament'
yuuri-maar	CVCV ^Y	"	"	'members of the jury panel'
oo[^t a]i-maar	VCVCV ^Y	"	"	'hospital attendants'
paatiri-maar	CVCVCV ^Y	"	"	'christian priests'
vitaane-maar	CVCVCV ^Y	"	"	'headmen'
pikku-maar	CVCV ^W	"	"	'Buddhist monks'
appukkaattu-maar	VCVVCVCV ^W	"	"	'advocates'
nottaaricu-maar	CVVCVCVCV ^W	"	"	'notaries'
caan[^t oo]-maar	CVNVCV ^W	"	"	'men of physical strength'
akkaa-maar	VCV ^O	"	"	'elder sisters'
ammaa-maar	"	"	"	'mothers'
ayyaa-maar	"	"	"	'fathers'
nees-maar	CV ^a f	"	"	'nurses'

polis-maar	CVCV ^a F	/	$\frac{b}{NA} \frac{O}{f_L}$	'police'
meezan-maar	CVCV ^a N	"	"	'masons'
piyoon-maar	CVCV ^a N	"	"	'peons'
Rayvar-maar	CVCCV ^f L	"	"	'drivers'
maasrar-maar	CVCV ^f L	"	"	'masters'
ki aak-maar	CCV ^v P	"	"	'clerks'
[k a:kma:] mekkaanik-maar	CVCCV ^v P	"	"	'mechanics'

TABLE 7.74

7.2.95 In all the above instances, gender is indicated by the stem. Only plurality is indicated by the suffix -maar. As all these stems are either kinship terms or terms denoting professions, gender is easily distinguishable in these nominal stems (See 2.12.4). The suffix -maar is taken by stems whose gender can be determined whereas the epicene plural suffix -ka| (3) is taken by stems whose gender can only be determined as animate (+hum.) and not as masculine or feminine (See 7.2.90).

Suffixation of -e

7.2.96 The structure of this vocalic epicene plural suffix may be expressed in phonological formulae as $-E^Y$. The phonetic implication of this is a short vocalic articulation between half-close and open, but nearer half-open than open.

7.2.97 This suffix is statable only after all non-C final stems. (a) The internal junction between O-prosodic stems

and this suffix is characterized by W-prosody (See 7.2.43).

$$V + E^Y \rightarrow V W E^Y$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
a-v-e [ʌʊε]	A ⁰	W	-E ^Y	'those persons'
pooRa-v-e [po:rʌʊε]	CVCV ⁰	"	"	'those who go'
katekkiRa-v-e	CVCVCVCV ⁰	"	"	'those who talk'
paṭṭikkiRa-v-e	"	"	"	'those who study'

TABLE 7.75

7.2.98 (b) In the following instances, the pronominal base is either Y-prosodic or W-prosodic and the internal junction is characterized by W-prosody (See 7.2.10, 7.2.25 and 7.2.44).

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
i-v-e [iʊε]	I ^Y	W	-E ^Y	'these persons'
e-v-e [eʊε]	E ^Y	"	"	'which persons'
u-v-e [uʊε]	I ^W	"	"	'these or those persons'

TABLE 7.76

NEUTER PLURAL

Suffixation of -ka] (4)

7.2.99 This suffix is statable after all types of non-C final and C final stems. It is very productive of

forms.

7.2.100 (a) The internal junction between Y-prosodic stems and this plosive initial suffix is characterized by q prosody.

$$\begin{Bmatrix} -I^Y \\ -E^Y \end{Bmatrix} + v_{PA^0} r_L \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} -I^Y \\ -E^Y \end{Bmatrix} \quad YA^0 r_L$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
eli-ka[[elijə]]	VCV ^Y	q	v _{PA} ⁰ r _L	'rats'
kate-ka[[kʌðɛjə]]	CVCV ^Y	"	"	'stories'
cu[[i-ka[[su]:ijə]]	CVCV ^Y	"	"	'twigs'
cilaake-ka[[sila:hɛjə]]	CVCV ^Y	"	"	'planks'
caalve-ka[[sa:lʊɛjə]]	CVCV ^Y	"	"	'shawls'

TABLE 7.77

7.2.101 (b) The internal junction between (constant) W-prosodic stems and O-prosodic stems and this suffix is characterized by g prosody.

$$\begin{Bmatrix} -I^W \\ -E^W \\ -A^O \end{Bmatrix} + v_{P-} \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} -I^W \\ -E^W \\ -A^O \end{Bmatrix} \quad v_{P-}$$

Rdg. Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
puu-k-ka]	C \bar{V} ^W	g	\bar{V} PA ^O r _L	'flowers'
pu]u-k-ka]	CVCV ^W	"	"	'worms'
Riccoo-k-ka]	CVCV ^W	"	"	'rickshaws'
s[uu]iyoo-k-ka]	CC \bar{V} CVCV ^W	"	"	'studios'
[ayinamoo-k-ka]	CVCVCVCV ^W	"	"	'dynamos'
kanaa-k-ka]	CVCV ^O	"	"	'dreams'
puRaa-k-ka]	"	"	"	'pigeons'
tiruvi]aa-k-ka]	CVCVCVCV ^O	"	"	'temple festivals'

TABLE 7.78

7.2.102 (c) The internal junction between constant C final stems ending in a member of the L system and this suffix is characterized by g prosody.

$$\begin{matrix} a/f/r \\ L \end{matrix} + V_{P-} \rightarrow \begin{matrix} a/f/r \\ -L \end{matrix} g_{F-}$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
iir-ka] [i:rɦə]	\bar{V}^f L	g	\bar{V} PA ^O r _L	'eggs of louse'
uur-ka] [u:rɦə]	"	"	"	'villages'
peer-ka] [pe:rɦə]	C \bar{V}^f L	"	"	'names'
Riil-ka] [ri:lɦə]	C \bar{V}^a L	"	"	'reels'
Reyil-ka] [rejilɦə]	CVCV ^a L	"	"	'trains'

poru[-ka]	CVCV ^r _L	g	v _{PA} ⁰ r _L	'things'
[poru hə]				
cayikki[-ka]	CVCVCV ^r _L	"	"	'bicycles'
[sʌjik:i hə]				

TABLE 7.79

7.2.103 (d) The internal junction between stems that end either in an alveolar nasal or a retroflex nasal and this suffix is characterized by the suffix initial voiceless velar plosive being realized as a velar plosive (by +v prosody).

$$\begin{array}{c} a/r \\ -N \end{array} + \begin{array}{c} v_P- \\ \end{array} \longrightarrow \begin{array}{c} a/r \\ -N \end{array} \begin{array}{c} v_P- \\ +v \end{array}$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
pin-ka]	CV ^a _N	+v	v _{PA} ⁰ r _L	'pins'
[pingə]				
rin-ka]	"	"	"	'tins'
[tingə]				
kaŋ-ka]	CV ^r _N	"	"	'eyes'
[kʌŋgə]				
pun-ka]	"	"	"	'wounds'
[pungə]				
vaan-ka]	Cv ^a _N	"	"	'vans'
[va:ngə]				
tuun-ka]	Cv ^r _N	"	"	'pillars'
[tu:ŋgə]				
kalan-ka]	CVCV ^a _N	"	"	'gallons'
[kʌlɒngə]				
kavun-ka]	CVCV ^r _N	"	"	'gowns'
[kʌvʊŋgə]				

TABLE 7.80

7.2.104 (e) The internal junction between C variable stems that end in a vocalic element in their nominative forms and this suffix is characterized by g prosody.

$$-I^W + V_{P-} \rightarrow -I^W \text{ g}_{F-}$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
atu-ka] [ʌðw̃hə]	VCV ^W	g	$\bar{V}_{PA}^O r_L$	'those things'
aa]u-ka] [a:ɾw̃hə]	$\bar{V}CV^W$	"	"	'goats'
kaacu-ka] [ka:s̃w̃hə]	C $\bar{V}CV^W$	"	"	'money'
kallu-ka] [kʌl:s̃w̃hə]	CV $\bar{C}V^W$	"	"	'stones'
puu]u-ka] [pu:ɾ:s̃w̃hə]	C $\bar{V}CV^W$	"	"	'locks'
va]akku-ka] [ʋʌ]ʌk:s̃w̃hə]	CVCV $\bar{C}V^W$	"	"	'legal cases'

TABLE 7.81

7.2.105 (f) The internal junction between C variable stems that end in a bilabial nasal in their nominative forms and this suffix is characterized by h prosody and the prosody of voicing.

$$\bar{b}_N + V_{P-} \rightarrow \bar{V}_N \quad \begin{matrix} V_{P-} \\ +v \end{matrix}$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
pa]am-ka] [pʌ]ʌŋgə]	CVCV ^b _N	h & +v	$\bar{V}_{PA}^O r_L$	'fruits'
paavam-ka] [pa:ʋʌŋgə]	C $\bar{V}CV^b$ _N	"	"	'sins'

putinam-ka]	CVCVCV ^b N	h & +v	$\bar{V}PA^O r_L$	'news'
[pu ^h di ^h ŋgə]				
pa]akkam-ka]	CVCVCV ^b N	"	"	'habits'
[p ^h ^]k:əŋgə]				
puroocanam-ka]	CVCVCVCV ^b N	"	"	'produce'
[puro:sa ^h nəŋgə]				

TABLE 7.82

7.2.106 (g) The internal junction between (constant) CC final stems and this suffix is characterized by syllabicity and \mathcal{G} prosody. The syllabic vowel which characterizes this junction may be expressed in phonological formulae as $-I^W$. The phonetic exponent is a short back close vowel.

$$-CC + \bar{V}P- \rightarrow -CCI^W \mathcal{G}_F-$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
loons-u-ka]	C \bar{V} CC	$-I^W + \mathcal{G}$	$\bar{V}PA^O r_L$	'pairs of trousers'
[lo:ŋsuhə]				
vaalv-u-ka]	"	"	"	'valves'
[va:lvuhə]				
taans-u-ka]	"	"	"	'dances'
[da:nsuhə]				
sraan]-u-ka]	CC \bar{V} NC	"	"	'stands'
[sta:ŋduhə]				
avuns-u-ka]	VCVCC	"	"	'ounces'
[avunsuhə]				
laycens-u-ka]	CVCCVCC	"	"	'licences'
[la:jsensuhə]				

TABLE 7.83

7.2.107 (h) The internal junction between stems of the

marginal class which have either a plosive or an affricate or a velar nasal C final or a CC final in which the second final member is a plosive is characterized by (1) the stem final C element being realized as a long tense one (b) by syllabicity and (3) the suffix initial short velar plosive being realized as a short glottal fricative (by \acute{g} prosody).

$$- \begin{Bmatrix} P \\ Q \\ CP \\ v_N \end{Bmatrix} + v_{P-} \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} \bar{P} \\ \bar{Q} \\ C\bar{P} \\ v_{\bar{N}} \end{Bmatrix} \quad I^W \quad \acute{g}_{F-}$$

Thus $voo[t + ka] \rightarrow voo[tuka]$. The examples given below should be interpreted with this in mind.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
$voo[t-u-ka]$ [ʊo:t:uħə]	$C\bar{V}^rP$	$g + -I^W + \acute{g}$	$v_{PA}^0 r_L$	'votes'
$Roo[t-u-ka]$ [ro:t:uħə]	"	"	"	'roads'
$Ree[t-u-ka]$ [re:t:uħə]	$C\bar{V}^aP$	"	"	'rates'
$keekk-u-ka]$ [ke:k:uħə]	$C\bar{V}^vP$	"	"	'cakes'
$pelRR-u-ka]$ [belt:uħə]	CVC^aP	"	"	'belts'
$riyuupp-u-ka]$ [tiju:p:uħə]	$CVC\bar{V}^bP$	"	"	'tubes'
$palpp-u-ka]$ [bʌlp:uħə]	CVC^bP	"	"	'bulbs'

layi [t̪-u-ka]	CVCV ^a P	g + -I ^W + g	v ⁰ PA ⁰ r _L	'lights'
[lajit:whə]				
mayikk-u-ka]	CVCV ^v P	"	"	'microphones'
[majik:whə]				
vaacc-u-ka]	C ^v Q	"	"	'wrist watches'
[va:t:whə]				
roocc-u-ka]	"	"	"	'torches'
[to:t:whə]				
cuvicc-u-ka]	CVCVQ	"	"	'switches'
[suvit:whə]				
kaRaacc-u-ka]	CVC ^v Q	"	"	'garages'
[gʌra:t:whə]				
cikare [t̪-u-ka]	CVCVCV ^a P	"	"	'cigarettes'
[sihʌret:whə]				
raanŋ-u-ka]	C ^v V ^N	"	"	'tanks'
[ta:ŋ:whə]				
paanŋ-u-ka]	"	"	"	'banks'
[ba:ŋ:whə]				
poo[ingŋ-u-ka]	C ^v CV ^v N	"	"	'boardings'
[bo:ingŋ:whə]				

TABLE 7.84

7.2.108 (i) In the following instances, the marginal stems are of the syllabic structure CVC and the internal junction between stems of this class and the suffix is characterized by the same junctional prosodic features as those stated for the preceding class of marginal stems.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
pass-u-ka] [bas:whə]	CV ^a F	g + -I ^W g	vPA ⁰ r _L	'buses'
Rimm-u-ka] [rim:whə]	CV ^b N	"	"	'rims'
pamm-u-ka] [pam:whə]	"	"	"	'pumps'
cekk-u-ka] [t(ek:whə]	CV ^v P	"	"	'cheques'
mill-u-ka] [mil:whə]	CV ^a L	"	"	'mills'

TABLE 7.85

7.2.109 It is interesting to note that the internal junction between stems of the pattern CV^{a/r}N wherein the final nasal is either an alveolar or retroflex nasal (in the case of the latter nasal, examples could be cited from the native class as well) and this suffix is characterized by the prosody of voicing. See the examples illustrated for rule (d) in table 7.80 on page 496.

7.3

CASE SYSTEM

7.3.1 In the language under survey, all the case suffixes are non-C initial ones. These non-C initial suffixes could be economically handled together when making phonological statements. The suffixes will be first given formulaic expression and this is followed by phonological statements which are so generalized as to be applicable to all the

non-C initial suffixes. If in any instance a separate treatment for the interrelations between stems of the native and marginal classes and these suffixes is called for, it shall be done so in the course of the analysis. The dative case is treated separately in 7.3.78-7.3.87. Examples for each suffix illustrating the phonological statements made here will be given in tables. In most instances, the sets of examples are different for each grammatical case illustrated with a view to giving as many examples of nominals as possible. However in order to emphasize the similarities of features of junction, one example, wherever possible, is repeated in each set.

CASE SUFFIXES

Accusative Case Suffix -e

7.3.2 This V- initial suffix may be expressed in phonological formulae as $-E^Y$. Phonetically it implies a short front vowel for the articulation of which the lips are spread and the distance between the jaws is medium.

Instrumental Case Suffix -aale

7.3.3 This vocalic initial disyllabic suffix may be given the formulaic expression $-\bar{A}^O aLE^Y$. The suffix initial consists of a long unrounded vowel in the open region. The medial consonantal element is a short alveolar lateral. The suffix final is a short front vowel for the articulation of which the lips are spread and the distance between the jaws is medium.

ation of which the lips are spread and the distance between the jaws is medium.

Sociative Case Suffix -oo^te

7.3.4 The structure of this disyllabic suffix may be expressed in phonological formulae as $-\bar{E}^{Wr}XE^Y$. The suffix initial consists of a long back rounded vowel during the articulation of which the tongue is raised almost to the half-close position. The medial consonantal element is a short retroflex flap. The suffix final is a short front vowel for the articulation of which the lips are spread and the distance between the jaws is medium.

Genitive Case Suffix -inre

7.3.5 This disyllabic suffix may be given the formulaic expression $-I^Y a_N a_{PE}^Y$. The suffix initial is a short front unrounded vowel. The medial -NP- consonantal elements consist of a short alveolar nasal and a plosive. The suffix final is a short front vowel for the articulation of which the lips are spread and the distance between the jaws is medium.

(+hum.) Locative Case Suffix -i^tte

7.3.6 The structure of this suffix may be expressed in phonological formulae as $-I^Y r_{PE}^Y$. Phonetically the suffix initial is a short front close unrounded vowel. The medial consonantal element is a long tense retroflex

plosive articulation. The suffix final is a short front vowel for the articulation of which the lips are spread and the distance between the jaws is medium.

(-hum.) Locative Case Suffix -ile

7.3.7 This may be given the formulaic expression $-I^Y a_{LE}^Y$. The suffix initial is a short front close unrounded vowel. The medial consonantal element is a short alveolar lateral. The suffix final is a short front vowel for the articulation of which the lips are spread and the distance between the jaws is medium.

(+hum.) Ablative Case Suffix -i \dot{t} eyiruntu

7.3.8 It may be recalled (See 2.11.3 on pages 143-44) that this compound suffix consists of the animate locative suffix $-i\dot{t}e$ and the post position $-iruntu$. As the animate locative case suffix $-i\dot{t}e$ has already been expressed phonologically (See 7.3.6), only the structure of the post position $-iruntu$ will be given phonological expression. The structure of this vocalic initial trisyllabic post position may be expressed phonologically as $-I^Y r_{LI}^W d_{N}^d p_{PI}^W$. The initial element consists of a short front close unrounded vowel. The second syllable consists of a short alveolar flap articulation followed by a short back close vowel. The final syllable consists of a short dental nasal and a voiced dental plosive followed by a

short back close vowel.

7.3.9 The internal junction between the Y-prosodic case suffix -i[†]te and the non-C initial post position -iruntu_π is characterized by Y-prosody.

$$-E^Y + I^Y \rightarrow E^Y \quad Y \quad I^Y$$

e.g. kolvin-i[†]te-y-iruntu_π 'Kolvin (pr.n. abl.)'

(-hum.) Ablative Case Suffix -ileyiruntu

7.3.10 This compound suffix consists of the inanimate locative case suffix -ile and the post position -iruntu_π both of which have been separately expressed phonologically in this section (see 7.3.7-7.3.8). What remains now is to account for the internal junction between these two suffixes. The internal junction between the Y-prosodic suffix -ile and the non-C initial post position -iruntu_π is characterized by Y-prosody.

$$-E^Y + I^Y \rightarrow E^Y \quad Y \quad I^Y$$

e.g. u[†]uvil-ile-y-iruntu_π 'U[†]uvil (p.n. abl.)'

7.3.11 The interrelations between nominal stems and the non-C initial case suffixes can be classified as

Non-C final
+ Non-C initial
C final

(1) Non-C final + Non-C initial

7.3.12 (a) The internal junction between nominal stems that are Y-prosodic and these non-C initial suffixes is

characterized by Y-prosody.

$$\begin{Bmatrix} I^Y \\ E^Y \end{Bmatrix} + V- \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} I^Y \\ E^Y \end{Bmatrix} \quad Y \quad V$$

ACCUSATIVE				
Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
eli-y-e	VCV ^Y	Y	-E ^Y	'rat (acc.)'
caḷi-y-e	CVCV ^Y	"	"	'phlegm (acc.)'
aṇṇe-y-e	VC̄V ^Y	"	"	'elder brother (acc.)'
tampi-y-e	CVNCV ^Y	"	"	'younger brother (acc.)'
caami-y-e	CVCV ^Y	"	"	'god (acc.)'
kucini-y-e	CVCVCV ^Y	"	"	'kitchen (acc.)'
kuruṭi-y-e	"	"	"	'blind woman (acc.)'
muspaatti-y-e	CVCCVCV ^Y	"	"	'fun (acc.)'

7.3.13

INSTRUMENTAL

eli-y-aale	VCV ^Y	Y	-A ⁰ aLE ^Y	'rat (ins.)'
tunḷi-y-aale	CVCV ^Y	"	"	'cloth (ins.)'
aacci-y-aale	VCV ^Y	"	"	'grandmother (ins.)'
cante-y-aale	CVNCV ^Y	"	"	'fair (ins.)'
muṭṭe-y-aale	CVVCV ^Y	"	"	'egg (ins.)'
caṇṇe-y-aale	CVCV ^Y	"	"	'child (ins.)'
caattiri-y-aale	CVVCVCV ^Y	"	"	'astrologer (ins.)'
muttire-y-aale	CVVCVCV ^Y	"	"	'stamp (ins.)'

7.3.14

SOCIATIVE

eli-y-ooṭe	VCV ^Y	Y	-E ^{Wr} XE ^Y	'rat (soc.)'
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vali-y-ooṭe	CVCV ^Y	Y	-E ^Y r ^Y XE ^Y	'pain (soc.)'
tumpi-y-ooṭe	CVNCV ^Y	"	"	'an insect (soc.)'
tooce-y-ooṭe	CVCV ^Y	"	"	'a kind of cake (soc.)'
koocci-y-ooṭe	CVCV ^Y	"	"	'your mother (soc.)'
mette-y-ooṭe	CVCV ^Y	"	"	'quilt (soc.)'
kaṭutaaci-y-ooṭe	CVCVCVCV ^Y	"	"	'paper (soc.)'
caṅkili-y-ooṭe	CVNCVCV ^Y	"	"	'chain (soc.)'

7.3.15

ABLATIVE (+hum)

ture-y-iṭṭeyiruntu	CVCV ^Y	Y	-I ^Y r ^Y PE ^Y YI ^Y f ^Y LI ^W d ^Y N ^Y d ^Y PI ^W	'Ture (abl.)'
tampi-y-iṭṭeyiruntu	CVNCV ^Y	"	"	'younger brother (abl.)'
aRutali-y-iṭṭeyiruntu	VCVCVCV ^Y	"	"	'widow (abl.)'
kaṅcali-y-iṭṭeyiruntu	CVNCVCV ^Y	"	"	'worthless woman (soc.) (abl.)'
kaappuli-y-iṭṭeyiruntu	CVCVCV ^Y	"	"	'negroe (abl.)'
aṇaappi-y-iṭṭeyiruntu	VCVCV ^Y	"	"	'cheat (abl.)'
kaṭṭaati-y-iṭṭeyiruntu	CVCVCV ^Y	"	"	'washerman (abl.)'

7.3.16

ABLATIVE (-hum.)

eli-y-ileyiruntu	VCV ^Y	Y	-I ^Y a ^Y LE ^Y YI ^Y f ^Y LI ^W d ^Y N ^Y d ^Y PI ^W	'rat (abl.)'
cani-y-ileyiruntu	CVCV ^Y	"	"	'saturday (abl.)'
kaṇṭi-y-ileyiruntu	CVNCV ^Y	"	"	'place name (abl.)'
kuure-y-ileyiruntu	CVCV ^Y	"	"	'roof (abl.)'
paḷe-y-ileyiruntu	CVCV ^Y	"	"	'place name (abl.)'
caṇṭati-y-ileyiruntu	CVNCVCV ^Y	"	"	'descent (abl.)'
laakkiri-y-ileyiruntu	CVCVCV ^Y	"	"	'sealing wax (abl.)'

7.3.17

GENITIVE

eli-y-inre	VCV ^Y	Y	-I ^Y a ^a PE ^Y	'rat (gen.)'
maṇi-y-inre	CVCV ^Y	"	"	'bell (gen.)'
toppi-y-inre	CV ^Y CV ^Y	"	"	'hat (gen.)'
katti-y-inre	"	"	"	'knife (gen.)'
poocci-y-inre	CVCV ^Y	"	"	'feeding bottle (gen.)'
kaRaṭi-y-inre	CVCVCV ^Y	"	"	'bear (gen.)'
nittire-y-inre	CV ^Y CV ^Y	"	"	'sleep (gen.)'

7.3.18

LOCATIVE (+hum.)

ture-y-iṭṭe	CVCV ^Y	Y	-I ^Y r ^r PE ^Y	'Ture (pr.n. loc.)'
empi-y-iṭṭe	VNCV ^Y	"	"	'member of parlia- ment (loc.)'
iippini-y-iṭṭe	V ^Y CV ^Y	"	"	'miser (loc.)'
malaṭi-y-iṭṭe	CVCVCV ^Y	"	"	'an impotent woman (loc.)'
kaavaali-y-iṭṭe	C ^Y V ^Y CV ^Y	"	"	'rowdy (loc.)'
manusi-y-iṭṭe	CVCVCV ^Y	"	"	'woman (loc.)'
tankecci-y-iṭṭe	CVNCV ^Y	"	"	'younger sister (loc.)'

7.3.19

LOCATIVE (-hum.)

eli-y-ile	VCV ^Y	Y	-I ^Y LE ^Y	'rat (loc.)'
eeni-y-ile	V ^Y CV ^Y	"	"	'ladder (loc.)'
paati-y-ile	C ^Y V ^Y CV ^Y	"	"	'half (loc.)'
kaale-y-ile	"	"	"	'morning (loc.)'
canti-y-ile	CVNCV ^Y	"	"	'junction (loc.)'
aṭukkaḷe-y-ile	VCV ^Y CV ^Y	"	"	'kitchen (loc.)'
alumaari-y-ile	V ^Y CV ^Y CV ^Y	"	"	'almyra (loc.)'

TABLE 7.86

7.3.20 (b) If the nominal stems are W-prosodic or O-prosodic, the internal junction is characterized by W-prosody.

$$- \begin{Bmatrix} I^W \\ E^W \\ A^O \end{Bmatrix} + V \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} I^W \\ E^W \\ A^O \end{Bmatrix} \quad W \quad V-$$

7.3.21

ACCUSATIVE

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
puu-v-e	$C\bar{V}^W$	W	$-E^Y$	'flower (acc.)'
teru-v-e	$CVCV^W$	"	"	'road (acc.)'
caatu-v-e	$C\bar{V}CV^W$	"	"	'harmless person (acc.)'
kiyuu-v-e	$CVC\bar{V}^W$	"	"	'queue (acc.)'
manoo-v-e	$CVC\bar{V}^W$	"	"	'Manoo (pr.n. acc.)'
Riccoo-v-e	$CV\bar{C}\bar{V}^W$	"	"	'rickshaw (acc.)'
ammaa-v-e	$VC\bar{V}^O$	"	"	'mother (acc.)'
an _l aa-v-e	$VNC\bar{V}^O$	"	"	'cauldron (acc.)'
kamalaa-v-e	$CVCVC\bar{V}^O$	"	"	'Kamalaa (pr.n. acc.)'

7.3.22

INSTRUMENTAL

puu-v-aale	$C\bar{V}^W$	W	$-\bar{A}^O$ a _{LE} ^Y	'flower (ins.)'
raamu-v-aale	$C\bar{V}CV^W$	"	"	'Raamu (pr.n. ins.)'
cuppu-v-aale	$CV\bar{C}\bar{V}^W$	"	"	'Cuppu (pr.n. ins.)'
kokkoo-v-aale	$CV\bar{C}\bar{V}^W$	"	"	'cocoa (ins.)'
akkaa-v-aale	$VC\bar{V}^O$	"	"	'elder sister (ins.)'
appaa-v-aale	"	"	"	'father (ins.)'
cinimaa-v-aale	$CVCVC\bar{V}^O$	"	"	'cinema (ins.)'

7.3.23

SOCIATIVE

puu-v-ootē	C \bar{V} ^W	W	-E ^W r _{XE} ^Y	'flower (soc.)'
pu <u>l</u> u-v-ootē	CVCV ^W	"	"	'worm (soc.)'
appukkaattu-v-ootē	V \bar{C} V \bar{C} V \bar{C} V ^W	"	"	'advocate (soc.)'
nottaaricu-v-ootē	CVC \bar{V} CVCV ^W	"	"	'notary (soc.)'
ayyaa-v-ootē	V \bar{C} V ⁰	"	"	'father (soc.)'
aluvaa-v-ootē	VCVCV ^W	"	"	'an eatable (soc.)'
kaRuvaa-v-ootē	CVCVCV ⁰	"	"	'cinnamon (soc.)'

7.3.24

ABLATIVE (+hum.)

iicu-v-i <u>t</u> tēyiruntu	V \bar{C} V ^W	W	-I ^{Yr} PE ^Y Yf ^{LI} Wd ^N d ^{PI} ^W	'Iicu (pr.n. abl.)'
kuncu-v-i <u>t</u> tēyiruntu	CVNCV ^W	"	"	'Kuncu(pr.n. abl.)'
muttu-v-i <u>t</u> tēyiruntu	CVCV ^W	"	"	'Muttu(pr.n. abl.)'
paaRu-v-i <u>t</u> tēyiruntu	C \bar{V} CV ^W	"	"	'PaaRu(pr.n. abl.)'
pereeraa-v-i <u>t</u> tēyiruntu	CVCV \bar{C} V ⁰	"	"	'Pereeraa(pr.n. abl.)'
raacaa-v-i <u>t</u> tēyiruntu	C \bar{V} CV ⁰	"	"	'raacaa (pr.n. abl.)'
maamaa-v-i <u>t</u> tēyiruntu		"	"	'uncle (abl.)'

7.3.25

ABLATIVE (-hum.)

puu-v-ileyiruntu	C \bar{V} ^W	W	-I ^{Ya} LE ^Y Yf ^{LI} Wd ^N d ^{PI} ^W	'flower (abl.)'
paru-v-ileyiruntu	CVCV ^W	"	"	'pimple (abl.)'
tippoo-v-ileyiruntu	CV \bar{C} V ^W	"	"	'depot (abl.)'
pilaa-v-ileyiruntu	CV \bar{C} V ⁰	"	"	'jack tree (abl.)'
kanaa-v-ileyiruntu	"	"	"	'dream (abl.)'
amerikkaa-v-ileyiruntu	VCVCV \bar{C} V ⁰	"	"	'America (abl.)'
puru <u>t</u> aa-v-ileyiruntu	CVCVCV ⁰	"	"	'trick (abl.)'

7.3.26

GENITIVE

puu-v-inre	$C\bar{V}^W$	W	-I ^{Ya} _N ^a _{PE} ^Y	'flower (gen.)'
kucu-v-inre	$CVCV^W$	"	"	'fart (gen.)'
pa ^{tt} u-v-inre	$CVC\bar{V}^W$	"	"	'Pa ^{tt} u (pr.n.gen.)'
piyaanoo-v-inre	$CVC\bar{V}C\bar{V}^W$	"	"	'piano (gen.)'
loo ^{tt} aa-v-inre	$C\bar{V}C\bar{V}^O$	"	"	'a water jug (gen.)'
koo ^{tt} aa-v-inre	"	"	"	'quota (gen.)'
cuRaa-v-inre	$CVC\bar{V}^O$	"	"	'shark (gen.)'

7.3.27

LOCATIVE (+hum.)

yeecu-v-i ^{tt} e	$C\bar{V}C\bar{V}^W$	W	-I ^{Yr} _{PE} ^Y	'Christ (loc.)'
ka ^{ne} ecu-v-i ^{tt} e	$CVC\bar{V}C\bar{V}^W$	"	"	'Ka ^{ne} ecu (pr.n.loc.)'
kanaku-v-i ^{tt} e	$CVCVC\bar{V}^W$	"	"	'Kanakanu (pr.n. loc.)'
kuru-v-i ^{tt} e	$CVCV^W$	"	"	'teacher (loc.)'
pa ^{nt} aa-v-i ^{tt} e	$CVNC\bar{V}^O$	"	"	'pan aa (pr.n.loc.)'
ka ^{nt} ayyaa-v-i ^{tt} e	$CVNCVC\bar{V}^O$	"	"	'Ka ^{nt} ayyaa (pr.n.loc.)'
ponnayyaa-v-i ^{tt} e	$CV\bar{C}VC\bar{V}^O$	"	"	'Ponnayyaa (pr.n.loc.)'

7.3.28

LOCATIVE (-hum.)

puu-v-ile	$C\bar{V}^W$	W	-I ^{Ya} _{LE} ^Y	'flower (loc.)'
noo-v-ile	"	"	"	'pain (loc.)'
poo ^{tt} ikkoo-v-ile	$C\bar{V}C\bar{V}C\bar{V}^W$	"	"	'portico (loc.)'
s ^{tu} u ^{ti} yoo-v-ile	$CC\bar{V}CVC\bar{V}^W$	"	"	'studio (loc.)'
Raamaa-v-ile	$C\bar{V}C\bar{V}^O$	"	"	'drama (loc.)'
pulaa-v-ile	$CVC\bar{V}^O$	"	"	'ola vessel (loc.)'
naa ^{ta} aa-v-ile	$CVC\bar{V}$	"	"	'ribbon (loc.)'

TABLE 7.87

7.3.29 (c) The internal junction between C variable W-prosodic stems and these vocalic initial suffixes is characterized by the elision of the stem final vocalic element.

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} C \\ \bar{C} \\ NC \end{array} \right\} I^W + V \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} C \\ \bar{C} \\ NC \end{array} \right\} I^W V$$

Thus $kan_t u + e \rightarrow kan_t e$. The examples given below should be interpreted with this in mind.

7.3.30		<u>ACCUSATIVE</u>		
Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
$kan_t -e$	CVN $\bar{C}V^W$	$-I^W$	$-E^Y$	'calf (acc.)'
$on_t -e$	VN $\bar{C}V^W$	"	"	'one (acc.)'
$pant -e$	CVN $\bar{C}V^W$	"	"	'ball (acc.)'
$kall -e$	CV $\bar{C}V^W$	"	"	'stone (acc.)'
$pall -e$	"	"	"	'tooth (acc.)'
$kaac -e$	C $\bar{V}C V^W$	"	"	'money (acc.)'
$tuuc -e$	"	"	"	'dust (acc.)'
$puu_t -e$	C $\bar{V}C V^W$	"	"	'lock (acc.)'

7.3.31		<u>INSTRUMENTAL</u>		
$kan_t -aale$	CVN $\bar{C}V^W$	$-I^W$	$-A^{Oa}LE^Y$	'calf (ins.)'
$van_t -aale$	"	"	"	'beetle (ins.)'
$patt -aale$	CV $\bar{C}V^W$	"	"	'ten (ins.)'
$cott -aale$	"	"	"	'wealth (ins.)'
$kaat -aale$	C $\bar{V}C V^W$	"	"	'ear (ins.)'
$koot -aale$	"	"	"	'peel of fruit (ins.)'
$con_t -aale$	CVN $\bar{C}V^W$	"	"	'lip (ins.)'

7.3.32

SOCIATIVE

kaṇṭ-ooṭe	CVNVCV ^W	-ɣ ^W	-ē ^W r ^Y XE ^Y	'calf (soc.)'
naṇc-ooṭe	"	"	"	'poison (soc.)'
poṭṭ-ooṭe	CV ^W CV ^W	"	"	'ornamental mark (soc.)'
kaḷḷ-ooṭe	"	"	"	'toddy (soc.)'
nuuR-ooṭe	C ^W V ^W CV ^W	"	"	'one hundred (soc.)'
aaR-ooṭe	V ^W CV ^W	"	"	'six (soc.)'
viitṭ-ooṭe	CV ^W CV ^W	"	"	'house (soc.)'

7.3.33

ABLATIVE (-hum.)

kaṇṭ-ileyiruntu	CVNVCV ^W	-ɣ ^W	-I ^Y a ^Y LE ^Y YI ^Y f ^W LI ^W d ^d PI ^W	'calf(abl.)'
kaṭṭ-ileyiruntu	CV ^W CV ^W	"	"	'wound (abl.)'
catt-ileyiruntu	"	"	"	'vitamin (abl.)'
muuṇṭ-ileyiruntu	C ^W V ^W NVCV ^W	"	"	'three (abl.)'
naal-ileyiruntu	C ^W V ^W CV ^W	"	"	'four (abl.)'
cuut-ileyiruntu	"	"	"	'gamble (abl.)'
kooṭṭ-ileyiruntu	CV ^W CV ^W	"	"	'legal court (abl.)'

7.3.34

GENITIVE

kaṇṭ-inre	CVNVCV ^W	-ɣ ^W	-I ^Y a ^a PE ^Y	'calf (gen.)'
naṇṭ-inre	"	"	"	'crab (gen.)'
kunṭ-inre	"	"	"	'door step (gen.)'
caakk-inre	C ^W V ^W CV ^W	"	"	'sack (gen.)'
kaatt-inre	"	"	"	'wind (gen.)'
miḷak-inre	CVCVCV ^W	"	"	'pepper (gen.)'

7.3.35	<u>LOCATIVE (-hum.)</u>			
kan [†] -ile	CVNCV ^W	-ɪ ^W	-I ^{Ya} LE ^Y	'calf (loc.)'
tun [†] -ile	"	"	"	'a piece (loc.)'
pont [†] -ile	"	"	"	'hole (loc.)'
kott-ile	CV ^W C ^W V	"	"	'a measure (loc.)'
ve ^{††} -ile	"	"	"	'cut (loc.)'
cokuc-ile	CVCVCV ^W	"	"	'comfort (loc.)'
cu [†] ak-ile	"	"	"	'winnowing pan (loc.)'

TABLE 7.88

It should be noted here that none of the W-prosodic nominal stems of the animate (+hum.) category lose their final vocalic element when in junction with vocalic initial suffixes (See 7.3.24 and 7.3.27 on pages 514-12). Only the junction between stems of the inanimate category with syllabic structure other than (C)(V)C^V and these vocalic initial suffixes is characterized by the elision of the stem final vocalic element.

(2) C final + Non-C initial

7.3.36 (a) The internal junction between C final stems that
 (1) do not end either in a plosive or an affricate or a bilabial or velar nasal (2) are not of the syllabic structure (C)VC and these suffixes is / prosodic.

7.3.37

ACCUSATIVE

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
teen-e	C \bar{V} ^a N	/	-E ^Y	'honey (acc.)'
peen-e	"	"	"	'louse (acc.)'
paal-e	C \bar{V} ^a L	"	"	'milk (acc.)'
kaal-e	"	"	"	'leg (acc.)'
meeyar-e	C \bar{V} CV ^f L	"	"	'mayor (acc.)'
ka[avu]-e	CVCVCV ^r L	"	"	'god (acc.)'
polis-e	CVCV ^a F	"	"	'police (acc.)'
pavun-e	CVCV ^r N	"	"	'gold (acc.)'

7.3.38

INSTRUMENTAL

teen-aale	C \bar{V} ^a N	/	-A ⁰ a _{LE} ^Y	'honey (ins.)'
meen-aale	"	"	"	'son (ins.)'
paan-aale	C \bar{V} ^r N	"	"	'bread (ins.)'
vayar-aale	CVCV ^f L	"	"	'wire (ins.)'
civar-aale	"	"	"	'wall (ins.)'
nees-aale	CV ^a F	"	"	'nurse (ins.)'
maapi]-aale	C \bar{V} CV ^r L	"	"	'marble (ins.)'
kaanival-aale	C \bar{V} CVCV ^a L	"	"	'carnival (ins.)'

7.3.39

SOCIATIVE

teen-oo[te	C \bar{V} ^a N	/	-E ^W r _{XE} ^Y	'honey (soc.)'
vaan-oo[te	"	"	"	'van (soc.)'
uur-oo[te	\bar{V} ^f L	"	"	'village (soc.)'
peer-oo[te	CV ^f L	"	"	'name (soc.)'
vaal-oo[te	C \bar{V} ^a L	"	"	'tail (soc.)'

caaval-ooṭe	CVCV ^a L	/	-E ^W rXE ^Y	'cock (soc.)'
ayis-ooṭe	VCV ^a F	"	"	'ice (soc.)'
maṇcaḷ-ooṭe	CVNVCV ^r L	"	"	'saffron (soc.)'

7.3.40

ABLATIVE (+hum.)

meen-iṭṭeyiruntu	CV ^a N	/	-I ^Y rPE ^Y YI ^Y fLI ^W dN ^d PI ^W	'son'
paaskaran-iṭṭeyiruntu	CVCVCV ^a N	/	"	'Paaskaran (pr.n. abl.)'
oovaciyar-iṭṭeyiruntu	VCVCVCV ^f L	"	"	'overseer (abl.)'
Rayvar-iṭṭeyiruntu	CVCCV ^f L	"	"	'driver (abl.)'
aaḷ-iṭṭeyiruntu	V ^r L	"	"	'person (abl.)'
alvis-iṭṭeyiruntu	VCCV ^a F	"	"	'Alvis (pr.n.abl.)'
picukkaal-iṭṭeyiruntu	CVCVCV ^a L	"	"	'fiscal (abl.)'

7.3.41

ABLATIVE (-hum.)

teen-ileyiruntu	CV ^a N	/	-I ^Y aLE ^Y YI ^Y fLI ^W dN ^d PI ^W	'honey (ab.)'
kaan-ileyiruntu	"	"	"	'drain (ab.)'
kuuḷ-ileyiruntu	CV ^r L	"	"	'porridge (abl.)'
tuuḷ-ileyiruntu	"	"	"	'powder (abl.)'
rayar-ileyiruntu	CVCV ^f L	"	"	'tyre (abl.)'
kooyil-ileyiruntu	CVCV ^a L	"	"	'temple (abl.)'
kakkuus-ileyiruntu	CV ^a V ^a F	"	"	'lavatory (abl.)'

7.3.42

GENITIVE

teen-inre	CV ^a N	/	-I ^Y aN ^a PE ^Y	'honey (gen.)'
kavun-inre	CVCV ^r N	"	"	'gown (gen.)'
ṭaakkuttar-inre	CVCVCV ^f L	"	"	'doctor (gen.)'
cayikki -inre	CVCVCV ^r L	"	"	'bicycle (gen.)'

oottal-inre	$\bar{V}CV^aL$	/	$-I^{Ya}N^{aPE}Y$	'hotel (gen.)'
pootttil-inre	$CV\bar{C}V^aL$	"	"	'bottle (gen.)'
Rees-inre	CV^aF	"	"	'race (gen.)'

7.3.43

LOCATIVE (+hum.)

meen-ittē	$C\bar{V}^aN$	/	$-I^{Yr}PE^Y$	'son (loc.)'
colaman-ittē	$CVCVCV^aN$	"	"	'Colaman (pr.n. loc.)'
enciniyar-ittē	$VNCVCVCV^fL$	"	"	'engineer (loc.)'
riiccar-ittē	$CV\bar{C}V^fL$	"	"	'teacher (loc.)'
mee]-ittē	$C\bar{V}^rL$	"	"	'daughter (loc.)'
caanṭas-ittē	$C\bar{V}NVCV^aF$	"	"	'Caanṭas (pr.n. loc.)'
icapel-ittē	$VCVCV^aL$	"	"	'Icapel (pr.n. loc.)'

7.3.44

LOCATIVE (-hum.)

teen-ile	$C\bar{V}^aN$	/	$-I^{Ya}LE^Y$	'honey (loc.)'
kaan-ile	"	"	"	'drain (loc.)'
too]-ile	$C\bar{V}^rL$	"	"	'shoulder (loc.)'
veyyil-ile	$CV\bar{C}V^aL$	"	"	'sunshine (loc.)'
caayal-ile	$C\bar{V}CV^aL$	"	"	'resemblance (loc.)'
puun]-ile	$C\bar{V}^rN$	"	"	'knob (loc.)'
ṭoos-ile	$C\bar{V}^aF$	"	"	'dose (loc.)'

TABLE 7.89

7.3.45 (b) The internal junction between stems that are (1) with a final bilabial nasal preceded by a vocalic element (2) are not of the syllabic structure (C)VC and these suffixes is characterized by the loss of the stem final nasal and a long tense dental plosive articulation as the junctional

element. $-V \text{ } ^b_N + V- \rightarrow V \text{ } ^b_M \text{ } ^d_{\overline{P}} V-$

Thus $\text{maram} + e \rightarrow \text{maratte}$. The examples given below should be interpreted with this in mind.

7.3.46

ACCUSATIVE

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
mara-tt-e	CVCV ^{b(N)}	$\text{ } ^b_M + \text{ } ^d_{\overline{P}}-$	$-\text{E}^Y$	'tree (acc.)'
cana-tt-e	"	"	"	'people (acc.)'
ariya-tt-e	VCVCV ^{b(N)}	"	"	'Ariyam (pr.n. acc.)'
celva-tt-e	CVCCV ^{b(N)}	"	"	'Celvam (pr.n. acc.)'

7.3.47

INSTRUMENTAL

mara-tt-aale	CVCV ^{b(N)}	$\text{ } ^b_M + \text{ } ^d_{\overline{P}}-$	$-\text{A}^{\text{Oa}} \text{LE}^Y$	'tree (ins.)'
paṇa-tt-aale	"	"	"	'money (ins.)'
laapa-tt-aale	CVCV ^{b(N)}	"	"	'profit (ins.)'
vita-tt-aale	CVCV ^{b(N)}	"	"	'way (ins.)'

7.3.48

SOCIATIVE

mara-tt-ooṭe	CVCV ^{b(N)}	$\text{ } ^b_M + \text{ } ^d_{\overline{P}}-$	$-\text{E}^{\text{Wr}} \text{XE}^Y$	'tree (soc.)'
pela-tt-ooṭe	"	"	"	'strength (soc.)'
paala-tt-ooṭe	CVCV ^{b(N)}	"	"	'bridge (soc.)'
koova-tt-ooṭe	"	"	"	'anger (soc.)'

7.3.49

ABLATIVE (+hum.)

cana-tt-iṭṭeyiruntu	CVCV ^{b(N)}	$\text{ } ^b_M + \text{ } ^d_{\overline{P}}-$	$-\text{I}^{\text{Yr}} \text{PE}^Y \text{YI}^Y \text{LI}^{\text{Wd}} \text{N}^{\text{d}} \text{PI}^{\text{W}}$	'people (abl.)'
kuṇa-tt-iṭṭeyiruntu	"	"	"	'Kuṇam (pr.n. abl.)'
cuntara-tt-iṭṭeyiruntu	CVNCVCV ^{b(N)}	"	"	'Cuntaram (pr.n. abl.)'
taṅka-tt-iṭṭeyiruntu	CVNCV ^{b(N)}	"	"	'Taṅkam (pr.n. abl.)'

7.3.50

ABLATIVE (-hum.)

mara-tt-ileyiruntu	CVCV ^{b(N)}	$\bar{b}_M + \bar{d}_P$	$-I^{Ya}LE^{Yf}LI^{Wd}NdPI^W$	'tree (abl.)'
micca-tt-ileyiruntu	CV $\bar{C}V$ ^{b(N)}	"	"	'remainder (abl.)'
kaṭṭa-tt-ileyiruntu	CVCCV ^{b(N)}	"	"	'difficulty (abl.)'
kaariya-tt-ileyiruntu	C $\bar{V}CVCV$ ^{b(N)}	"	"	'matter (abl.)'

7.3.51

GENITIVE

mara-tt-inre	CVCV ^{b(N)}	$\bar{b}_M + \bar{d}_P$	$-I^{Ya}NaPE^Y$	'tree (gen.)'
cava-tt-inre	"	"	"	'corpse (gen.)'
paṭṭa-tt-inre	"	"	"	'picture (gen.)'
koovaṇa-tt-inre	C $\bar{V}CVCV$ ^{b(N)}	"	"	'loin cloth (gen.)'

7.3.52

LOCATIVE (+hum.)

tana-tt-iṭṭe	CVCV ^{b(N)}	$\bar{b}_M + \bar{d}_P$	$-I^{Yr}PE^Y$	'Tanam (pr.n. loc.)'
nava-tt-iṭṭe	"	"	"	'Navam (pr.n. loc.)'
cavuntara-tt-iṭṭe	CVCVNCVCV ^{b(N)}	"	"	'Cavuntaram (pr.n. loc.)'
civa-tt-iṭṭe	CVCV ^{b(N)}	"	"	'Civam (pr.n. loc.)'

7.3.53

LOCATIVE (-hum.)

mara-tt-ile	CVCV ^{b(N)}	$\bar{b}_M + \bar{d}_P$	$-I^{Ya}LE^Y$	'tree (loc.)'
vekka-tt-ile	CV $\bar{C}V$ ^{b(N)}	"	"	'shyness (loc.)'
tukka-tt-ile	"	"	"	'sorrow (loc.)'
pakka-tt-ile	"	"	"	'side (loc.)'

TABLE 7.90

7.3.54 (c) The internal junction between inanimate stems of the syllabic structure CVC and these suffixes is

is characterized by the short stem final element being realized as a long tense one (by g prosody).

CVC + V- → CV \bar{C} V-

Thus Rim + e → Rimme . The examples given below should be interpreted with this in mind.

7.3.55

ACCUSATIVE

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
Rimm-e	CV ^b N	g	-E ^Y	'rim (acc.)'
pinn-e	CV ^a N	"	"	'pin (acc.)'
mann-e	CV ^r N	"	"	'sand (acc.)'
cekk-e	CV ^v P	"	"	'cheque (acc.)'
mill-e	CV ^a L	"	"	'mill (acc.)'
pass-e	CV ^a F	"	"	'bus (acc.)'
kayy-e	CV ^p Z	"	"	'hand (acc.)'

7.3.56

INSTRUMENTAL

Rimm-aale	CV ^b N	g	-A ^{0a} LE ^Y	'rim (ins.)'
pamm-aale	"	"	"	'pump (ins.)'
rinn-aale	CV ^a N	"	"	'tin (ins.)'
kann-aale	CV ^r N	"	"	'eye (ins.)'
pell-aale	CV ^a L	"	"	'bell (ins.)'
mayy-aale	CV ^p Z	"	"	'ink (ins.)'
Ripp-aale	CV ^b P	"	"	'trip (ins.)'

7.3.57

SOCIATIVE

Rimm-oo ^t e	CV ^b N	g	-E ^{Wr} XE ^Y	'rim (soc.)'
punn-oo ^t e	CV ^r N	"	"	'wound (soc.)'
Rinn-oo ^t e	CV ^v N	"	"	'(piston) ring (soc.)'

pill-oo _{te} CV ^a L	g	-E ^{Wr} XE ^Y	'bill(soc.)'
poyy-oo _{te} CV ^p Z	"	"	'lie (soc.)'
tamm-oo _{te} CV ^b N	"	"	'holding of breath (soc.)'

7.3.58

ABLATIVE (-hum.)

Rimm-ileyiruntu CV ^b N	g	-I ^{Ya} LE ^Y YI ^{Yf} LI ^{Wd} N ^d PI ^W	'rim (abl.)'
ponn-ileyiruntu CV ^a N	"	"	'gold (abl.)'
payy-ileyiruntu CV ^p Z	"	"	'bag (abl.)'

7.3.59

GENITIVE

Rimm-inre CV ^b N	g	-I ^{Ya} N ^a PE ^Y	'rim (gen.)'
ronn-inre CV ^a N	"	"	'ton (gen.)'
vin _n -inre CV ^r N	"	"	'component of a flying kite (gen.)'
neyy-inre CV ^p Z	"	"	'ghee (gen.)'

7.3.60

LOCATIVE (-hum.)

Rimm-ile CV ^b N	g	-I ^{Ya} LE ^Y	'rim (loc.)'
tayy-ile CV ^p Z	"	"	'January (loc.)'
Rill-ile CV ^a L	"	"	'drill (loc.)'

TABLE 7.91

7.3.61 (d) The internal junction between animate oblique pronominal stems of the syllabic structure (C)VN and all the vocalic initial case suffixes other than those beginning with a short front close unrounded vowel is characterized by the short stem final nasal being realized as a long tense one (by g prosody).

$$(C)V \overset{b/a}{N} + V \rightarrow (C)V \overset{b/a}{N} V-$$

Thus en + e → enne. The examples given below should be interpreted with this in mind.

7.3.62

ACCUSATIVE

Rdg.Tpn.St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
enn-e	V ^a N	g -E ^Y	'I (acc.)'
unn-e	"	"	'you (sg. acc.)'
umm-e	V ^b N	"	'you (hon. acc.)'
tann-e	CV ^a N	"	'he (reflexive. acc.)'
namm-e	CV ^b N	"	'we (acc.)'

7.3.63

INSTRUMENTAL

enn-aale	V ^a N	g -A ^{Oa} LE ^Y	'I (ins.)'
unn-aale	"	"	'you (sg. ins.)'
		etc.	

7.3.64

SOCIATIVE

enn-oo ^t e	V ^a N	g -E ^{Wr} XE ^Y	'I (soc.)'
unn-oo ^t e	"	"	'you (sg. soc.)'
		etc.	

TABLE 7.92

7.3.65 (e) The internal junction between animate oblique pronominal stems of the syllabic structure (C)VN and case suffixes beginning with a short front close unrounded vowel is characterized by (1) the short stem final nasal being realized as a long tense one and (2) the initial short front close vocalic element of the suffix being realized as a short back vowel in the open range.

$$(C)V \begin{matrix} b/a \\ N \end{matrix} + I \begin{matrix} Y \\ - \end{matrix} \rightarrow (C)V \begin{matrix} b/a \\ N \end{matrix} A \begin{matrix} O \\ - \end{matrix}$$

7.3.66		ABLATIVE (+hum.)			
Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss	
enn-i ^{tt} eyiruntu [en:ʌ ^t :ɛjɪf ^{undw}]	V ^a N	g+ I ^Y A ⁰	-I ^{Yr} PE ^Y YI ^{Yf} LI ^{Wd} N ^d PI ^W	'you (1. (abl.))'	
unn-i ^{tt} eyiruntu [un:ʌ ^t :ɛjɪf ^{undw}]	"	"	"	'you (sg. abl.)'	
umm-i ^{tt} eyiruntu [um:ʌ ^t :ɛjɪf ^{undw}]	"	"	"	'you (hon. abl.)'	
tann-i ^{tt} eyiruntu [tʌn:ʌ ^t :ɛjɪf ^{undw}]	CV ^a N	"	"	'he (reflexive. abl.)'	

7.3.67		LOCATIVE (+hum.)			
enn-i ^{tte} [en:ʌ ^t :ɛ]	V ^a N	g + I ^Y A ⁰	-I ^{Yr} PE ^Y	'I (loc.)'	
unn-i ^{tte} [un:ʌ ^t :ɛ]	"	"	"	'you (sg. loc.)'	
tann-i ^{tte} [tʌn:ʌ ^t :ɛ]	CV ^a N	"			

etc.

TABLE 7.93

7.3.68 (f) The internal junction between animate pronominal oblique stems with an alveolar nasal as their stem final and the vocalic initial genitive suffix is characterized as follows:

$$(C)V^a_N + I^{Ya_N a_{PE}^Y} \rightarrow (C)V^a_N I^{Ya_N a_{PE}^Y}$$

7.3.69		GENITIVE			
Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss	
en-inre [entɛ]	V ^a N	-ɣ ^{Ya}	-I ^{Ya_N a_{PE}^Y}	'I (gen.)'	

un-inre	V^a_N	$-I^{Ya}_M$	$-I^{Ya}_N a_{PE}^Y$	'you (sg. gen.)'
[unt̪e]				
tan-inre	CV^a_N	"	"	'he (reflexive. gen.)'
[t̪ant̪e]				

TABLE 7.94

7.3.70 (g) The suffix $-a\bar{t}e^2$ is statable after $(C)V^b_N$ pronominal stems. In such instances, the internal junction is characterized by the stem final nasal being realized as a long tense one. $(C)V^b_N + A^0 \rightarrow (C)V^b_{NA^0}$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
umm-a $\bar{t}e$	V^b_N	g	$-A^{Or}_{XE}^Y$	'you (hon. gen.)'
namm-a $\bar{t}e$	CV^b_N	"	"	'we (gen.)'

TABLE 7.95

7.3.71 (h) The internal junction between stems (irrespective of their syllabic structure) of the marginal class ending either in a short plosive or an affricate or a velar nasal and the vocalic initial suffixes under consideration is characterized by the stem final short C element being realized as a long tense one (by g prosody).

2. In the colloquial speech of some Jaffna Tamils, the suffix $-a\bar{t}e$ occurs with other pronominal stems besides those discussed here. e.g. avan-a $\bar{t}e$ 'he (gen.)', avar-a $\bar{t}e$ 'he (hon. gen.)' etc. But in the writer's speech only the forms avan-inre 'he (gen.)' and avar-inre 'he (hon. gen.)' occur.

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{b/a/r/v} \\ -\text{P} \\ -\text{Q} \\ \text{v}_\text{N} \end{array} \right\} + \text{V-} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{b/a/r/v} \\ -\text{P} \\ -\text{Q} \\ \text{v}_\text{N} \end{array} \right\} \text{V-}$$

Thus $\text{voo} \text{t} + \text{e} \rightarrow \text{voo} \text{tte}$. The examples given below should be interpreted with this in mind.

7.3.72

ACCUSATIVE

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
$\text{voo} \text{t} - \text{e}$ [ʋo:t̪:ɛ]	$\text{CV}^{\text{r}}\text{P}$	g	$-\text{E}^{\text{Y}}$	'vote (acc.)'
$\text{keekk} - \text{e}$ [ke:k:ɛ]	$\text{CV}^{\text{v}}\text{P}$	"	"	'cake (acc.)'
$\text{keeRR} - \text{e}$ [ge:t̪:ɛ]	$\text{CV}^{\text{a}}\text{P}$	"	"	'gate (acc.)'
$\text{coopP} - \text{e}$ [so:p:ɛ]	$\text{CV}^{\text{b}}\text{P}$	"	"	'soap (acc.)'
$\text{ceecc} - \text{e}$ [t̪e:t̪:ɛ]	$\text{CV}^{\text{Q}}\text{P}$	"	"	'church (acc.)'
$\text{raan̪} - \text{e}$ [ta:n̪:ɛ]	$\text{CV}^{\text{v}}\text{N}$	"	"	'tank (acc.)'

7.3.73

INSTRUMENTAL

$\text{voo} \text{t} - \text{aale}$ [ʋo:t̪:a:lɛ]	$\text{CV}^{\text{r}}\text{P}$	g	$-\text{A}^{\text{Oa}}\text{LE}^{\text{Y}}$	'vote (ins.)'
$\text{ki} \text{aakk} - \text{aale}$ [k̪a:k:a:lɛ]	$\text{CCV}^{\text{v}}\text{P}$	"	"	'clerk (ins.)'
$\text{layi} \text{t} - \text{aale}$ [lʌjit̪:a:lɛ]	$\text{CVCV}^{\text{a}}\text{P}$	"	"	'light (ins.)'
$\text{riyuupp} - \text{aale}$ [t̪iju:p:a:lɛ]	$\text{CVCV}^{\text{b}}\text{P}$	"	"	'tube (ins.)'

vaacc-aale CVQ g -A^{Oa}LE^Y 'wrist watch (ins.)'
[ʋa:t:|a:lɛ]

paanŋ-aale CV^VN " " 'bank (ins.)'
[ba:ŋ:a:lɛ]

7.3.74

SOCIATIVE

yoo|t-oo|e CV^rP g -E^{Yr}XE^Y 'vote (soc.)'
[ʋo:|t:o:|ɛ]

mekkaanikk-oo|e CVCVCV^VP " " 'mechanic (soc.)'
[mek:a:nik:o:|ɛ]

cikare|t-oo|e CVCVCV^aP " " 'cigarette (soc.)'
[sih^het:o:|ɛ]

yeekkapp-oo|e CVCV^bP " " 'Yeekkap (pr.n.
[dʒe:k:ʌp:o:|ɛ] soc.)'

kaRaacc-oo|e CVCVQ " " 'garage (soc.)'
[g^hra:t:|o:|ɛ]

poo|ŋŋ-oo|e CVCV^VN " " 'boarding (soc.)'
[bo:|in:o:|ɛ]

7.3.75

ABLATIVE (+hum.)

teevi|t-i|t|eyiruntu CVCV^rP g -I^{Yr}PE^YYI^{Yf}LI^{Wd}N^dPI^W (pr.n.)
[de:ʋi:t:|i:t:|ɛji^undw] 'teevi|t (pr.n.abl.)'

tominikk-i|t|eyiruntu CVCVCV^VP " " 'tominik (pr.n.abl.)'
[dominik:i:t:|ɛji^undw]

yoocepp-i|t|eyiruntu CVCV^bP " " 'Yoocep (pr.n.abl.)'
[jo:sep:i:t:|ɛji^undw]

7.3.76

ABLATIVE (-hum.)

yoo|t-ileyiruntu CV^rP g -I^{Ya}LE^YYI^{Yf}LI^{Wd}N^dPI^W 'vote (abl.)'
[ʋo:|t:|i:ɛji^undw]

paakk-ileyiruntu [pa:k:ilejirundu]	CV ^V P	g	-I ^{Ya} LE ^Y YI ^{Yf} LI ^{Wd} N ^d PI ^W	'park (abl.)'
rikke ^t -ileyiruntu [tik:et:ilejirundu]	CV ^V CV ^a P	"	"	'ticket (abl.)'
tanlopp-ileyiruntu [danlop:ilejirundu]	CVCCV ^b P	"	"	'Dunlop - a brand of of rubber goods(abl.)'
cuvicc-ileyiruntu [su ^o it:ilejirundu]	CVCVQ	"	"	'switch (abl.)'
mooccan-ileyiruntu [mo:t:jan:ilejirundu]	CV ^V CV ^N	"	"	'jaws harp (abl.)'

7.3.77

GENITIVE

voo ^t -inre [vo:t:inte]	CV ^r P	g	-I ^{Ya} N ^a PE ^Y	'vote (gen.)'
mayikk-inre [majik:inte]	CVCV ^V P	"	"	'microphone (gen.)'
tayinamayit ^t -inre [d ^h jinamajit:inte]	CVCVCVCVCV ^a P	"	"	'dynamite (gen.)'
maacc-inre [ma:t:inte]	CVQ	"	"	'match (gen.)'
	etc.			

7.3.78

LOCATIVE (+hum.)

teevit ^t -itte [de:vi:t:ite]	CV ^V CV ^r P	g	-I ^{Yr} PE ^Y	'teevit (pr.n. loc.)'
alpeet ^t -itte [albe:t:ite]	VCCV ^a P	"	"	'Alpeet (pr.n. loc.)'
kiRaakk-i ^t te [kra:k:ite]	CCV ^V P	"	"	'crack-an insane person (loc.)'
	etc.			

7.3.79

LOCATIVE (-hum.)

voo[ɬ]-ile	C \bar{V} ^r P	g	-I ^{Ya} LE ^Y	'vote (loc.)'
[ʋo:ɬ:ile]				
cuvipp-ile	CVC \bar{V} ^b P	"	"	'sweepstake (loc.)'
[suɔi:p:ile]				
kiRikke[ɬ]-ile	CVCV \bar{C} V ^a P	"	"	'cricket (loc.)'
[krik:et:ile]				
	etc.			

TABLE 7.95

Dative Case Suffix -ukku

7.3.80 The structure of this disyllabic suffix can be expressed in phonological formulae as $-I^{Wv}\bar{P}I^W$. The suffix initial consists of a short back rounded vowel. The medial consonantal element is a long tense velar plosive articulation. The suffix final is a short back rounded vowel. The junction between nominal stems and this suffix is characterized as follows:

7.3.81 (a) When the stem is Y-prosodic, the internal junction is characterized by the loss of the suffix initial vocalic element.

$$-I^Y + I^{Wv}\bar{P}I^W \rightarrow I^Y\bar{P}I^W$$

Thus kaRi + ukku \rightarrow kaRikku. The examples given below should be interpreted with this in mind.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
kaRi-ukku	CVCV ^Y	$\bar{P}I^W$	$-I^{Wv}\bar{P}I^W$	'curry (dat.)'
[kaRik:w]				
maale-ukku	CVCV ^Y	"	"	'garland (dat.)'
[ma:lek:w]				

palli-ukku [pa:l:ik:w]	CV \bar{C} V \bar{Y}	I \bar{W}	-I \bar{W} V \bar{P} I \bar{W}	'lizard (dat.)'
caalini-ukku [sa:linik:w]	C \bar{V} CV \bar{C} V \bar{Y}	"	"	'Caalini (pr.n. fem. dat.)'
maalati-ukku [ma:l \wedge ðik:w]	"	"	"	'Maalati (pr.n. fem. dat.)'
		etc.		

TABLE 7.96

7.3.82 (b) When the stem is either W or O-prosodic the internal junction is characterized by W-prosody.

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} -I^W \\ -E^W \\ -A^O \end{array} \right\} + I^W \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} -I^W \\ -E^W \\ -A^O \end{array} \right\} \quad W \quad I^W$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
skRu-v-ukku	CCCV \bar{W}	W	-I \bar{W} V \bar{P} I \bar{W}	'screw (dat.)'
puu-v-ukku	C \bar{V} \bar{W}	"	"	'flower (dat.)'
noo-v-ukku	"	"	"	'pain (dat.)'
coomu-v-ukku	C \bar{V} CV \bar{W}	"	"	'Coomu (pr.n. dat.)'
paaRu-v-ukku	"	"	"	'PaaRu (pr.n. fem. dat.)'
mallikaa-v-ukku	CV \bar{C} V \bar{C} V \bar{O}	"	"	'Mallikaa (pr.n. fem. dat.)'
ampikaa-v-ukku	VNCV \bar{C} V \bar{O}	"	"	'Ampikaa (pr.n. fem. dat.)'
kuucaa-v-ukku	C \bar{V} CV \bar{O}	"	"	'vase (dat.)'
		etc.		

TABLE 7.97

7.3.83 (c) The internal junction between C variable W-prosodic stems and this suffix is characterized by the

elision of the short stem final vocalic element.

$$-I^W + I^W \rightarrow -\lambda^W I^W$$

Thus ciippu + ukku \rightarrow ciippukku . The examples given below should be interpreted with this in mind.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
ciipp-ukku	CVC(V ^W)	$-\lambda^W$	$-I^W v \bar{P} I^W$	'comb (dat.)'
katav-ukku	CVCVC(V ^W)	"	"	'door (dat.)'
mutuk-ukku	"	"	"	'back (dat.)'
tump-ukku	CVNC(V ^W)	"	"	'fibre (dat.)'
vayac-ukku	CVCVC(V ^W)	"	"	'age (dat.)'
		etc.		

TABLE 7.98

7.3.84 (d) The internal junction between C final stems that (1) do not end either in a plosive or an affricate or a bilabial or a velar nasal (2) are not of the syllabic structure (C)VC and this suffix is characterized by \neq prosody.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
caamaan-ukku	CVCV ^a N	\neq	$-I^W v \bar{P} I^W$	'article (dat.)'
aaRutal-ukku	V ^a CVCV ^a L	"	"	'consolation (dat.)'
poo ^t tar-ukku	CVCV ^f L	"	"	'porter (dat.)'
vaa]-ukku	CV ^r L	"	"	'sword (dat.)'
cayis-ukku	CVCV ^a F	"	"	'size (dat.)'
ma ^t al-ukku	CVCV ^a L	"	"	'bark (dat.)'
		etc.		

TABLE 7.99

7.3.85 (e) The internal junction between stems that
 (1) are with a final bilabial nasal preceded by a vocalic
 element (2) are not of the syllabic structure (C)VC and
 this suffix is characterized by the loss of the stem
 final nasal and a long tense dental plosive articulation
 as the junctional element.

$$-V \text{ } ^b_N + I^{Wv} \overline{PI}^W \rightarrow V \text{ } ^b_M d \overline{P} I^{Wv} \overline{PI}^W$$

Thus $\text{aram} + \text{ukku} \rightarrow \text{arattukku}$. The
 examples given below should be interpreted with this in
 mind.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
ara-tt-ukku	VCV(^b _N)	$\text{b}_M + \text{d}_P -$	$-I^{Wv} \overline{PI}^W$	'file(dat.)'
paakkiya-tt-ukku	CV \overline{C} VCV(^b _N)	"	"	'Paakkiyam (pr.n. dat.)'
muuttira-tt-ukku	"	"	"	'urine (dat.)'
cantana-tt-ukku	CVNCVCV(^b _N)	"	"	'sandalwood (dat.)'
kentaka-tt-ukku	"	"	"	'sulphur(dat.)'
cattaka-tt-ukku	CV \overline{C} VCV(^b _N)	"	"	'bill (dat.)'
cantooca-tt-ukku	CVNC \overline{C} VCV(^b _N)	"	"	'joy (dat.)'
naraka-tt-ukku	CVCVCV(^b _N)	"	"	'hell (dat.)'
		etc.		

TABLE 7.100

7.3.86 (f) The internal junction between inanimate stems
 of the syllabic structure CVC and this suffix is
 characterized by the short stem final element being
 realized as a long tense one (by g prosody).

$$CV \left\{ \begin{array}{c} b/a/r \\ N \\ a_F \end{array} \right\} + I^W \rightarrow CV \left\{ \begin{array}{c} b/a/r \\ \bar{N} \\ a_{\bar{F}} \end{array} \right\} I^W$$

Thus, *pin* + *ukku* \rightarrow *pinnukku*. The examples given below should be interpreted with this in mind.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
Rimm-ukku	CV ^b N	g	-I ^W v ⁻ PI ^W	'rim (dat.)'
pinn-ukku	CV ^a N	"	"	'pin (dat.)'
manṇ-ukku	CV ^r N	"	"	'sand (dat.)'
pass-ukku	CV ^a F	"	"	'bus (dat.)'

TABLE 7.101

7.3.87 (g) The internal junction between animate oblique pronominal stems of the syllabic structure (C)VN and this suffix is characterized by the suffix initial short back rounded vowel being realized as a short back vowel in the open range. (C)VN + I^Wv⁻PI^W \rightarrow (C)VNA^{Ov}PI^W

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
en-ukku [en^k:w]	V ^a N	I ^W \rightarrow A ^O	-I ^W v ⁻ PI ^W	'I (dat.)'
un-ukku [un^k:w]	"	"	"	'you (sg. dat.)'
tan-ukku [t^an^k:w]	CV ^a N	"	"	'he (reflexive.dat.)'

TABLE 7.102

7.3.88 (h) The internal junction between stems (irrespective of their syllabic structure) of the marginal class

ending in either an alveolar or retroflex or bilabial plosive or an affricate or a velar nasal and this dative suffix is characterized by the stem final C element being realized as a long tense one (as \bar{C}).

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} a/r/p \\ -P \\ -Q \\ \bar{v}_N \end{array} \right\} + I^{Wv} \bar{P} I^W \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} a/r/p \\ -\bar{P} \\ -\bar{Q} \\ \bar{v}_N \end{array} \right\} I^{Wv} \bar{P} I^W$$

Thus $vaa\bar{t} + ukku \rightarrow vaa\bar{t}ukku$. The examples given below should be interpreted with this in mind.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
$vaa\bar{t}ukku$ [va:t̄:mk:w]	CV^rP	g	$-I^{Wv} \bar{P} I^W$	'ward (dat.)'
ReeRR-ukku [re:t̄:mk:w]	CV^aP	"	"	'rate (dat.)'
Rekkoc $\bar{t}ukku$ [rek:o:t̄:mk:w]	$CV\bar{C}V^rP$	"	"	'record (dat.)'
picapp-ukku [bi^p:mk:w]	$CVCV^bP$	"	"	'bishop (dat.)'
cuvicc-ukku [suvit:mk:w]	$CVCVQ$	"	"	'switch (dat.)'
mooccap̄-ukku [mo:t:(ə̄):mk:w]	$CVCV^vN$	"	"	'jaws harp (dat.)'
		etc.		

TABLE 7.103

7.3.89 (1) The internal junction between stems of the marginal class ending in a short velar plosive and this

suffix is characterized by the stem final short velar plosive and the suffix initial short back rounded vowel being realized as a long tense velar plosive articulation and a short front close unrounded vowel respectively.

$$\underline{V}_P + I^W \underline{V} \underline{P}_I^W \rightarrow \underline{V} \underline{P}_I^Y \underline{V} \underline{P}_I^W$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
cekk-ukku [tʃek:ik:w]	CV ^V P	$\underline{V}_P + I^W \rightarrow \underline{V} \underline{P}_I^Y$	$-I^W \underline{V} \underline{P}_I^W$	'cheque (dat.)'
keekk-ukku [ke:k:ik:w]	C \underline{V}^V P	"	"	'cake (dat.)'
mekkaanikk-ukku [mek:a:nik:ik:w]	CVC \underline{V}^V CV ^V P	"	"	'mechanic (dat.)'
tominikk-ukku [dominik:ik:w]	CVCVCV ^V P	"	"	'ominik (pr.n.dat.)'
	etc.			

TABLE 104

7.4

VERBAL NOUN SYSTEMVERBAL NOUN FORMS

7.4.1 Bearing in mind what has been said about the grammatical features and suffix structures of verbal nouns in chapters two and five respectively (See 2.6, 5.1.3, 5.5.14 and 5.5.19), in this section, only the phonological features of verbal noun suffixes are treated in detail.

7.4.2 There are several ways of deriving verbal nouns from corresponding verb stems. The different ways in

which verbal nouns are derivable can be classified as follows: The more productive ways of deriving them are listed first and the least productive ways are listed subsequently.

- (a) Suffixation of monosyllabic and disyllabic suffixes.
- (b) The verb stem itself being nominalized without any suffixation.
 - (bi) The intervocalic dental or retroflex flap or glottal or alveolar fricative being realized as a long tense dental or retroflex or velar plosive or as a long tense affricate respectively, in the nominalization process.
 - (bii) Disyllabic or trisyllabic or quadrisyllabic verb stems with light syllables changing into heavy syllables.
 - (biii) The -NP final of C variable verb stems being realized as \bar{P} in the nominalization process.
 - (biv) The short vocalic element of monosyllabic verb stems with heavy syllables is lengthened in the nominalization process.

It should be stated here that the major method of derivation of verbal nouns is by suffixation of certain monosyllabic and disyllabic suffixes that are productive of forms in the language. The suffixation of suffixes

that are not productive of forms and all the other methods described above are minor methods of derivation as the attested number of forms in the next few paragraphs will reveal.

THE MAJOR METHOD OF DERIVATION

7.4.3 Suffixation as a way of deriving verbal nouns is first taken into consideration. The suffixes that can be set up for the verbal nouns in the language are -i , -e , -am , -al , -pu , -pe , -ttu , -ti , -tu , -ke , -ci ~ -cu , -me , -ne , -le , -vi ~ -vu ~ -ve , -ale , -aame , -mati and maanam . The verbal nouns taking either the suffix -pu or -al are more productive of forms than those taking other suffixes and so these two suffixes will be taken into consideration in the next few paragraphs. Of these two suffixes, -pu is more productive of forms than -al and so it is discussed first.

Suffixation of -pu

7.4.4 The phonological structure of the verbal noun suffix -pu in forms taking this suffix can be expressed in phonological formulae as $\text{b}_{-}\text{PI}^{\text{W}}$. Phonetically this implies a short lax bilabial plosive followed by a short back close vowel.

7.4.5 (a) All non-C final verb stems are capable of taking this verbal noun suffix and in all such instances, the internal junction between the verb stems and the plosive

initial suffix is characterized by \bar{g} prosody.

$$\begin{matrix} Y/W/O \\ -V \end{matrix} + b_{PI}^W \rightarrow \begin{matrix} Y/W/O \\ V \end{matrix} + b_{PI}^W$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
pa [†] i-p-pu ³	CVCV ^Y	g	b _{PI} ^W	'study'
ta [†] i-p-pu	"	"	"	'thickness'
ve [†] i-p-pu	"	"	"	'crack'
ku [†] i-p-pu	"	"	"	'bathing'
ka [†] i-p-pu	"	"	"	'warding off the evil eye'
na [†] i-p-pu	"	"	"	'acting'
pi [†] i-p-pu	"	"	"	'desire'
paRi-p-pu	"	"	"	'unloading'
tavi-p-pu	"	"	"	'desperation'
teRi-p-pu	"	"	"	'rift'
miti-p-pu	"	"	"	'treading'
cali-p-pu	"	"	"	'grief'
kuRi-p-pu	"	"	"	'horoscope'
ciri-p-pu	"	"	"	'laughter'
viri-p-pu	"	"	"	'coverlet'
ma [†] i-p-pu	"	"	"	'fold'

3. Kandiah (1967, p.34) pleads ignorance of the details of the derivational process of this verbal noun.

mati-p-pu	CVCV ^Y	g	b _{PI} ^W	'estimation'
mu]i-p-pu	"	"	"	'state of being awake'
koti-p-pu	"	"	"	'boiling'
viRe-p-pu	"	"	"	'cramp'
pi]e-p-pu	"	"	"	'occupation'
kane-p-pu	"	"	"	'neigh'
ka]e-p-pu	"	"	"	'fatigue'
tike-p-pu	"	"	"	'state of being puzzled'
ko]u-p-pu	CVCV ^W	"	"	'fat'
vi]u-p-pu	"	"	"	'inquisitiveness'
ceru-p-pu	"	"	"	'slippers'
ta]u-p-pu	"	"	"	'prevention'
ka]u-p-pu	"	"	"	'severity'
kaRu-p-pu	"	"	"	'that which is black'
poRu-p-pu	"	"	"	'responsibility'
vaku-p-pu	"	"	"	'class'
muu-p-pu	CV ^W	"	"	'seniority in age'
na]a-p-pu	CVCV ^O	"	"	'pride'
kaca-p-pu	"	"	"	'bitterness'
para-p-pu	"	"	"	'one sixteenth of an acre'
va]a-p-pu	"	"	"	'adoption as a child'
tuRa-p-pu	"	"	"	'key'
piRa-p-pu	"	"	"	'birth'
kaa-p-pu	CV ^O	"	"	'bangle'

ari-p-pu	VCV ^Y	g	b _{-PI} ^W	'itch'
a _l e-p-pu	"	"	"	'invitation'
u _l e-p-pu	"	"	"	'earning'
uRe-p-pu	"	"	"	'pungency'
ame-p-pu	"	"	"	'fate'
u _t u-p-pu	VCV ^W	"	"	'dress'
alu-p-pu	"	"	"	'fatigue'
iru-p-pu	"	"	"	'that which is at hand'
e _t u-p-pu	"	"	"	'ostensation'
oRu-p-pu	"	"	"	'that which is dear'
paavi-p-pu	CVCV ^Y	"	"	'use'
coo _t i-p-pu	"	"	"	'decoration'
taa _l i-p-pu	"	"	"	'a curry made with spices'
kavani-p-pu	CVCVCV ^Y	"	"	'paying attention'
manni-p-pu	CV ^Y	"	"	'forgiveness'
cittaari-p-pu	CV ^Y	"	"	'suing'
paraapari-p-pu	CVCVCVCV ^Y	"	"	'maintenance'

TABLE 7.105

7.4.6 (b) There are a few C final verb stems which occur with the verbal noun suffix b_{-PI}^W . All of them end either in a palatal continuant or in a member of the liquid system. If the C final of the verb system is either a palatal continuant or a flap and is preceded by a long vocalic element, then the internal junction between the C final stem and

C initial verbal noun suffix is characterized by g prosody.

$$\bar{V} \begin{Bmatrix} p_Z \\ f_L \end{Bmatrix} + b_{PI}^W \longrightarrow \bar{V} \begin{Bmatrix} p_Z \\ f_L \end{Bmatrix} b_{PI}^W$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
eey-p-pu	\bar{V}^{p_Z}	g	b_{PI}^W	'cheating'
vaay-p-pu	$C\bar{V}^{p_Z}$	"	"	'opportunity'
aṅkalaay-p-pu	$VNCVC\bar{V}^{p_Z}$	"	"	'greediness'
ceer-p-pu	$C\bar{V}^{f_L}$	"	"	'taking into account'
tiir-p-pu	"	"	"	'verdict'
vaar-p-pu	"	"	"	'cast'

TABLE 7.106

An exception to the above rule is to be found in the form vay-p-pu 'mistress' in which the C final of the verb stem is preceded by a short vocalic element.

7.4.7 (c) When the C final of the verb stem is either a flap or a non-retroflex lateral and is preceded by a short vocalic articulation, the internal junction between the C final stem and C initial suffix is characterized by the C initial bilabial plosive of the suffix being realized as a bilabial fricative.

$$V \begin{matrix} f/a \\ L \end{matrix} + b_{PI}^W \longrightarrow V \begin{matrix} f/a \\ L \end{matrix} + b_{FI}^W$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
toṭar-pu [toṭaṭaṭa]	$CVCV^{f_L}$	$b_{P-} \rightarrow b_F$	b_{PI}^W	'connection'

iyal-pu VCV^a_L b_P-→b_F- b_{PI}^W 'means'

TABLE 7.107

Suffixation of -al

7.4.8 The phonological structure of the verbal noun suffix -al in forms taking this suffix is expressible in phonological formulae $-A^{0a}_L$. Phonetically this implies a short vowel between open and half-open but nearer half-open than open and it is closed by a short alveolar lateral articulation.

7.4.9 The junctional elements that can be accounted for in the internal junction between the verb stem and this verbal noun suffix depend on the type of prosodic and / or phonematic structure of the verb stem.

7.4.10 (a) In the case of some non-C final stems that are either W-prosodic or Q-prosodic, the internal junction between the verb stem and the suffix is characterized by W-prosody.

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} -I^W \\ -A^O \end{array} \right\} + A^O \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} -I^W \\ -A^O \end{array} \right\} \quad W \quad A^O$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
i <u>l</u> u-v-al	VCV ^W	W	$-A^{0a}_L$	'postponement'
kaRu-v-al	CVCV ^W	"	"	'black complexion'
ira-v-al	VCV ^O	"	"	'borrowing'
para-v-al	CVCV ^O	"	"	'spreading'
kaa-v-al	C \bar{V} ^O	"	"	'watch'

TABLE 7.108

7.4.11 (b) In the following non-C final W-prosodic or O-prosodic stems, the internal junction is characterized by a long tense dental plosive articulation.

$$\begin{Bmatrix} -I^W \\ -A^O \end{Bmatrix} + A^O \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} -I^W \\ -A^O \end{Bmatrix} \begin{matrix} d/v \\ \overline{P} \end{matrix} A^O$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
pa <u>l</u> u-tt-al	CVCV ^W	\overline{dP} -	$-A^{Oa}_L$	'sear'
vaRu-tt-al	"	"	"	'that which is roasted'
ko <u>l</u> u-tt-al	"	"	"	'that which is fat'
ka <u>l</u> a-tt-al	CVCV ^O	"	"	'smuggling'

TABLE 7.109

7.4.12 (c) In all the C variable monosyllabic and disyllabic verb stems, the internal junction is characterized by / prosody.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
naaR-al	C \overline{V} C	/	$-A^{Oa}_L$	'that which is decomposed'
ciiv-al	"	"	"	'shredded arecanut'
kutt-al	CVC \overline{C}	"	"	'pounding'
cett-al	"	"	"	'that which is dried'
vemp-al	CVNC	"	"	'premature fruit'
kont-al	"	"	"	'defiled fruit'
kent-al	"	"	"	'hopping'
taṅk-al	"	"	"	'stay'
poṅk-al	"	"	"	'a Hindu festival'

vaa†-al	CVC	/	-A ^{0a} _L	'that which is withered'
tupp-al	CV	"	"	'spit'
niikk-al	CVC	"	"	'opening'
cilaav-al	CVCVC	"	"	'that which is circular'
a]uk-al	VCVC	"	"	'that which is rotten'
irum-al	"	"	"	'cough'
tumm-al	CV	"	"	'sneeze'

TABLE 7.110

7.4.13 (d) The internal junction between non-C final verb stems that are Y-prosodic and this verbal noun suffix is characterized either by Y-prosody or a long tense affricate articulation as junctional element.

$$\begin{Bmatrix} -I^Y \\ -E^Y \end{Bmatrix} + A^0 \rightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} -I^Y \\ -E^Y \end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix} Y \\ \bar{Q} \end{Bmatrix} A^0$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
o†i-y-al	VCV ^Y	Y	-A ^{0a} _L	'dried palmyra root'
avi-y-al	"	"	"	'a kind of boiled curry'
pori-y-al	CVCV ^Y	"	"	'anything fried'
maRi-y-al	"	"	"	'imprisonment'
kuvi-y-al	"	"	"	'heap'
ku]e-y-al	"	"	"	'rice mixed with curry'
ki]i-y-al	"	"	"	'that which is torn'
came-y-al	"	"	"	'cooking'
va]e-y-al	"	"	"	'bangle'
pute-y-al	"	"	"	'hidden treasure'

pu]i-cc-al	CVCV ^Y	-Q-	-A ^{0a} L	'that which is stale'
[pu]it:ʃəl]				
eri-cc-al	VCV ^Y	"	"	'jealousy'
[erit:ʃəl]				
tun]i-cc-al	CVCV ^Y	"	"	'boldness'
[tun]it:ʃəl]				

TABLE 7.111

7.4.14 (e) There are some verb stems with a palatal continuant as their C final member. The internal junction between such stems and the verbal noun suffix under consideration is characterized by a long tense affricate articulation and the elision of the stem final palatal continuant.

$$-V P_Z + A^0 \rightarrow V P_Z \bar{Q} A^0$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
kaa-cc-al	CV(P _Z)	P _Z + Q	-A ^{0a} L	'fever'
[ka:t:ʃəl]				
too-cc-al	"	"	"	'bathing with water applied to the head'
[to:t:ʃəl]				
mee-cc-al	"	"	"	'roofing'
[me:t:ʃəl]				
pine-cc-al	CVCV(P _Z)	"	"	'hinge'
[piŋet:ʃəl]				
vi]e-cc-al	"	"	"	'growth'
[ʋi]et:ʃəl]				
nare-cc-al	"	"	"	'that which is grey'
[nʌret:ʃəl]				
kuRe-cc-al	"	"	"	'that which is deficient'
[kuret:ʃəl]				
ale-cc-al	VCV(P _Z)	"	"	'vain journey'
[ʌlet:ʃəl]				

TABLE 7.112

7.4.15 (f) In the following instances, the verb stem is W-prosodic and the internal junction is characterized by a short dental fricative as junctional element.

$$-I^W + A^O \rightarrow -I^W \quad d_F \quad A^O$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
aRu-t-al	VCV ^W	\underline{d}_F -	-A ^{Oa} _L	'snapping'
[\wedge r m \dot{o} \wedge 1]				
aaRu-t-al	\bar{V} CV ^W	"	"	'consolatory words'
[a: r m \dot{o} \wedge 1]				

TABLE 7.113

Suffixation of -am

7.4.16 This suffix structure may be represented in phonological formulae as $-A^{Ob}_N$. The phonetic implication of this formulaic expression is a short back vocalic articulation between open and half-open, but nearer half-open than open, closed by a short bilabial nasal. Most of the verb stems occurring with this suffix are C variable stems. When non-C final stems that are Y-prosodic take this suffix, the initial vocalic element of the suffix is slightly fronted. $-A^{Ob}_N$ is stated after the following types of verb stems:

7.4.17 (a) Some of the C variable stems have a final -NP in their intransitive form. The internal junction between this type of verb stem and the suffix is characterized by the final -NP being realized as \bar{P} .

$$\begin{matrix} d/v \\ -N \end{matrix} \begin{matrix} d/v \\ P \end{matrix} + A^O \rightarrow \begin{matrix} d/v \\ -P \end{matrix} + A^O$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
porutt-am	CVCV ^d _N ^d _P	^d _N ^d _P → ^d _P	-A ^{Ob} _N	'match'
varutt-am	"	"	"	'sickness'
tirutt-am	"	"	"	'improvement'
cunakk-am	CVCV ^v _N ^v _P	^v _N ^v _P → ^v _P	"	'delay'
mu]akk-am	"	"	"	'thunder'
nerukk-am	"	"	"	'crowding'
vi]akk-am	"	"	"	'explanation'
mayakk-am	"	"	"	'unconsciousness'
a†akk-am	"	"	"	'obedience'

TABLE 7.114

7.4.18 (b) There are a few instances in which the final C element of C variable intransitive verb stems is either a retroflex flap or a glottal fricative. The internal junction between this class of verb stems and the suffix is characterized by the stem final retroflex flap or glottal fricative being realized as a long tense retroflex or velar plosive (as \bar{C}) respectively.

$$\left\{ \begin{matrix} \bar{r}_X \\ \bar{g}_F \end{matrix} \right\} + A^O \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{matrix} \bar{r}_P \\ \bar{v}_P \end{matrix} \right\} + A^O$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
aa†-am	V ^r _X	^r _X → ^r _P	-A ^{Ob} _N	'shaking'

kuu ^t -am	$C\bar{V}^rX$	$\underline{r}X \rightarrow \underline{r}\bar{P}$	$-A^{Ob}N$	'crowd'
vaa ^t -am	"	"	"	'emaciation'
pa ^l akk-am	$CVCV^gF$	$\underline{g}F \rightarrow \underline{v}\bar{P}$	"	'habit'

TABLE 7.115

7.4.19 (c) A few of the C variable verb stems are inherently intransitive in their forms. The stem final -C or -NC of such stems is either an alveolar fricative or an -NC comprising a bilabial or a palatal or a velar nasal and a corresponding affricate or a plosive. The internal junction between such stems and this suffix is characterized as follows:

(ci) When the stem final -C or -NC is an alveolar fricative or a palatal nasal and an affricate, the internal junction is characterized by the stem final alveolar fricative or the palatal nasal and affricate being realized as a long tense affricate articulation.

(cii) When the stem final is an -NC comprising either a bilabial nasal or velar plosive and a homorganic plosive, the internal junction is characterized by the stem final -NC being realized as a long tense bilabial or velar plosive articulation.

$$\begin{array}{c} \underline{a}_F \\ b/p/v \\ -N \end{array} + \left\{ \begin{array}{c} b/v \\ P \\ Q \end{array} \right\} + A^O \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} -\bar{Q} \\ b/v \\ -\bar{P} \end{array} \right\} + A^O$$

Thus kuuc + am → kuuccam
 irank + am → irakkam
 virump + am → viruppam

The examples given below should be interpreted with this in mind.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
kuucc-am [ku:t:ə m]	CV^aF	$\underline{a}F \rightarrow \bar{Q}$	$-A^{Ob}N$	'shyness'
micc-am [mit:ə m]	CV^PNQ	$\underline{PNQ} \rightarrow \bar{Q}$	"	'balance'
viikk-am [vi:k:ə m]	CV^VN^VP	$\underline{VN^VP} \rightarrow \bar{VP}$	"	'swelling'
irakk-am [if^k:ə m]	VCV^VN^VP	"	"	'pity'
va]akk-am [v^]k:ə m]	$CVCV^VN^VP$	"	"	'custom'
pu]akk-am [pu]^k:ə m]	"	"	"	'use'
virupp-am [virup:ə m]	$CVCV^bNb^bP$	"	"	'desire'

TABLE 7.116

7.4.20 (d) The internal junction between Y-prosodic verb stems and this suffix is characterized by a palatal continuant as the junctional element. The suffix initial vocalic element is slightly fronted.

$$\begin{Bmatrix} -I^Y \\ -E^Y \end{Bmatrix} + A^O \longrightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} -I^Y \\ -E^Y \end{Bmatrix} \quad Y \quad A^O$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
ciivi-y-am	CVCV ^Y	Y	-A ^{Ob} _N	'living'
va]e-y-am	CVCV ^Y	"	"	'ring'

TABLE 7.117

7.4.21 (e) In the following instances, the internal junction between W-prosodic verb stems and this suffix is characterized by the elision of the stem final vocalic element.

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} C \\ \bar{C} \end{array} \right\} V^W + A^O \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} C \\ \bar{C} \end{array} \right\} V^W A^O$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
enŋ-am	V ^r N(V ^W)	-ŋ ^W	-A ^{Ob} _N	'idea'
[en:əŋ] noockk-am	CV ^v P(V ^W)	"	"	'object'
pa]-am	CV ^r L(V ^W)	"	"	'fruit'
i]-am	V ^r X(V ^W)	"	"	'place'

TABLE 7.118

The suffix initial vocalic element is nasalized in the first example.

7.4.22 (f) The internal junction between constant C final verb stems and this suffix is characterized by / prosody. In all such instances, the stem final C element is a member of the L system.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
aa]-am	V ^r L	/	-A ^{Ob} _N	'depth'
nil-am	CV ^a L	"	"	'ground'

nii[-am	$\text{CV}^{\text{r}}\text{L}$	/	$-\text{A}^{\text{Ob}}\text{N}$	'length'
uyar-am	$\text{VCV}^{\text{f}}\text{L}$	"	"	'height'
neer-am	$\text{CV}^{\text{f}}\text{L}$	"	"	'time'

TABLE 7.119

Suffixation of -vu , -vi and -ve

7.4.23 These three continuant initial forms of the verbal noun suffix -vu , -vi and -ve may be handled together when making phonological statements. They can be expressed in phonological formulae as $-\text{ZI}^{\text{W/Y}}/\text{E}$.

7.4.24 The occurrence of the three alternants after verb stems is phonologically conditioned as follows: The first suffix which has been given the formulaic expression $-\text{ZI}^{\text{W}}$ is stated after Y-prosodic disyllabic stems and after monosyllabic stems with a member of the L system as C final. The second suffix which has been phonologically symbolised as $-\text{ZI}^{\text{Y}}$ occurs after O-prosodic disyllabic stems and after monosyllabic stems of the syllabic structure CVC of which the final C element is either an alveolar or a retroflex lateral. The third suffix which has been given the formulaic expression $-\text{ZE}^{\text{Y}}$ can be distinguished from the second suffix (-vi) in the following way. The suffix final articulation of the second suffix (-vi) is in the close region whereas the suffix final vocalic articulation of the third suffix (-ve) is in the mid region. The third suffix occurs

after monosyllabic verb stems of the syllabic structure CVC of which the final C element is always a flap. In the case of monosyllabic stems of the structure CVC, the internal junction between the stem C final and suffix C initial is characterized by a syllabic vowel which can be phonologically expressed as $-A^0$. Its phonetic exponent is a vocalic articulation between open and half-open, but nearer half-open than open. In all other cases, the internal junction is characterized by \neq prosody (See 6.6.28-6.6.29).

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
aRi-vu	VCV ^Y	\neq	-ZI ^W	'knowledge'
eri-vu	"	"	"	'burning sensation'
a]i-vu	"	"	"	'ruin'
u]e-vu	"	"	"	'ache'
meli-vu	"	"	"	'that which is lean'
mali-vu	"	"	"	'cheapness'
ne]i-vu	"	"	"	'dent'
va]e-vu	"	"	"	'dent'
pati-vu	"	"	"	'that which is low'
ka]i-vu	"	"	"	'discount'
paŋi-vu	"	"	"	'obedience'
nine-vu	"	"	"	'thought'
kuRe-vu	"	"	"	'deficiency'

muRi-vu	CVCV ^Y	/	-ZI ^W	'fracture'
viri-vu	"	"	"	'that which is expanded'
tun̄i-vu	"	"	"	'boldness'
vaa]-vu	CV ^r L	"	"	'conjugal happiness'
taa]-vu	"	"	"	'degeneration'

TABLE 7.120

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{a/f/r} \\ \text{CV} \quad \text{L} \end{array} + \text{ZI}^{\text{W}} \rightarrow \begin{array}{c} \text{a/f/r} \\ \text{CV} \quad \text{L} \end{array} \text{A}^{\text{O}} \text{ZI}^{\text{W}}$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
var-a-vu	CV ^f L	-A ^O	-ZI ^W	'that which is due'
cel-a-vu	CV ^a L	"	"	'expenditure'
ka]-a-vu	CV ^r L	"	"	'theft'

TABLE 7.121

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
piRa-vi	CVCV ^O	/	-ZI ^Y	'birth'
tuRa-vi	"	"	"	'an ascetic'
tool-vi	CV ^a L	"	"	'defeat'
kee]-vi	CV ^r L	"	"	'question'
vee]-vi	"	"	"	'animal sacrifice'

TABLE 7.122

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
tiir-ve	CV ^f L	/	-ZE ^Y	'duty'
veer-ve	"	"	"	'sweat'
poor-ve	"	"	"	'blanket'

koor-ve	$\text{CV}^{\text{f}}\text{L}$	/	$-\text{ZE}^{\text{Y}}$	'bunch'
ceer-ve	"	"	"	'medicinal compound'
paar-ve	"	"	"	'sight'

TABLE 7.123

Suffixation of -i

7.4.25 This vocalic verbal noun suffix can be represented in phonological formulae as $-\text{I}^{\text{Y}}$. The phonetic exponent of this is a short close front vocalic articulation.

7.4.26 (a) All non-C final verb stems are capable of taking this suffix and when doing so the internal junction is characterized by a short dental fricative as junctional element.

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{W/Y} \\ -\text{I} \\ -\text{A}^{\text{O}} \end{array} \right\} + \text{I}^{\text{Y}} \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{W/Y} \\ -\text{I} \\ -\text{A}^{\text{O}} \end{array} \right\} \text{d}_\text{F} \text{I}^{\text{Y}}$$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
ame-t-i [ʌ með̌i]	VCV^{Y}	$\text{d}_\text{F}-$	$-\text{I}^{\text{Y}}$	'peace'
maRa-t-i [mʌrʌð̌i]	CVCV^{O}	"	"	'forgetfulness'
poRu-t-i [poruð̌i]	CVCV^{W}	"	"	'patience'
keṭu-t-i [keṭuð̌i]	"	"	"	'evil'
taku-t-i [tʌhʷð̌i]	"	"	"	'qualification'
paku-t-i [pʌhʷð̌i]	"	"	"	'section'

TABLE 7.124

Sematically, as shown in most of the above instances, the suffix concerned is productive of abstract verbal nouns.

7.4.27 (b) Constant C final verb stems that occur with this suffix are few in number and in all such cases the C final is either a term in the L system or N system. The internal junction in all but one instance is characterized by / prosody. Semantically, the suffix is productive of forms denoting either the agent of an action or an action.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
veru]-i	CVCV ^r L	/	-I ^Y	'a comic person'
pira]-i	"	"	"	'mischief'
etir-i	VCV ^f L	"	"	'an opponent'
kuun-i	CV ^a N	"	"	'shrimp'

TABLE 7.125

In the following isolated instance, the stem is of the syllabic pattern VC and the C final is a retroflex nasal. The internal junction is characterized by g prosody.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
un ₁ -n ₁ -i	V ^r N	g	-I ^Y	'tick on animals'

TABLE 7.126

7.4.28 (c) The following C variable verb stems take this verbal noun suffix and in all such instances, the internal junction is characterized by / prosody. Semantically, the

verbal nouns so formed denote either the agent or the instrument of an action.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
utav-i	VCVC	/	-I ^Y	'help'
non [†] -i	CVNC	"	"	'a lame person'
muu [†] -i	CVC	"	"	'lid'
cuupp-i	CVC	"	"	'dummy'
poRukk-i	CVCVC	"	"	'a mean fellow'
a [†] aapp-i	VCVC	"	"	'a cheat'
(va-y-) aa [†] -i	VC	"	"	'an argumentative type of person'
(koo [†]) muu [†] -i	CVC	"	"	'a sneak'
(koo [†]) coll-i	CVC	"	"	'a sneak'
(paakku) ve [†] -i	CVC	"	"	'(arecanut) cutter'
(cume) taank-i	CVCNC	"	"	'a platform for the comfort of travellers'
(kuppe) viRaana [†] -i	CVCVCNC	"	"	'garden rake'
(ta [†] †i-c-) cutt-i	CVC	"	"	'a scrounger'

TABLE 7.127

Suffixation of -e

7.4.29 The phonological structure of this vocalic verbal noun suffix may be expressed as -E^Y. Phonetically it implies a short vocalic articulation between half-close and half-open, but nearer half-open than half-close.

7.4.30 (a) Non-C final stems that are W-prosodic take this verbal noun suffix and when doing so the internal junction

is characterized by the elision of the stem final vocalic element.

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} -T \\ \underline{r}_X \\ \underline{f}_L \end{array} \right\} I^W + E^Y \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} -T \\ \underline{r}_X \\ \underline{f}_L \end{array} \right\} I^W E^Y$$

Rdg.Tpn.St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
vaR-e CVT(Y ^W)	-I ^W	-E ^Y	'a kind of curry'
ko [†] -e CV ^r X(V ^W)	"	"	'donation'
ta [†] -e "	"	"	'obstacle'
ir-e V ^f L(V ^W)	"	"	'sitting'

TABLE 7.128

7.4.31 (b) In this isolated instance, the verb stem is 0-prosodic and the internal junction is characterized by a long tense dental plosive articulation.

(c) Only five constant C final verb stems take this verbal noun suffix and in all such instances, the C final is a member of the L system.

All these statements are illustrated as follows:

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
na [†] a-tt-e	CVCV ⁰	ḍp-	-E ^Y	'conduct'
nil-e	CV ^a L	ʃ	"	'door frame'
vil-e	"	"	"	'price'
kol-e	"	"	"	'murder'
uRu [†] -e	VCV ^r L	"	"	'a rolling toy'
tira [†] -e	CVCV ^r L	"	"	'a handful of rice and curry'

TABLE 7.129

Suffixation of -ci and -cu

7.4.32 These two affricate initial forms of the verbal noun suffix -ci and -cu can be handled together when making phonological statements. Their structure may be expressed in phonological formulae as $-QI^{Y/W}$. The consonantal element in the suffix syllable is a short voiceless affricate followed by a short close front articulation for the suffix which has been given the formulaic expression $-QI^Y$. The other suffix which has been phonologically symbolised as $-QI^W$ consists of a short voiceless affricate followed by a short back close vowel.

7.4.33 The occurrence of the two alternants is phonologically conditioned as follows: The second suffix (-cu) occurs after Y-prosodic stems and the internal junction is characterized by g prosody. $-I^Y + Q- \rightarrow -I^Y \bar{Q}-$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
mu [†] i-c-cu [mu [†] it:ʃw]	CVCV ^Y	g	$-QI^W$	'knot'
vari-c-cu [ʋa [†] it:ʃw]	"	"	"	'line'

TABLE 7.130

7.4.34 The first suffix (-ci) occurs only after C final verb stems that have either a flap or a retroflex lateral as their C final consonant. The internal junction is

characterized as follows:

7.4.35 (a) When the stem final C element is a flap, the internal junction is characterized by g prosody.

$$\underline{f}_L + QI^Y \longrightarrow \underline{f}_L \bar{Q}I^Y$$

7.4.36 (b) when the verb stem final C element is a retroflex lateral, the internal junction is characterized by the stem final retroflex lateral being realized as a retroflex plosive.

$$\underline{f}_L + QI^Y \longrightarrow \underline{f}_{PQ}I^Y$$

These statements are illustrated with examples as follows:

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
un ^h ar-c-ci [un ^h əɾt:ɕi]	VCV ^f L	g	-QI ^Y	'feeling'
uyar-c-ci [ujəɾt:ɕi]	"	"	"	'rise'
atir-c-ci [ʌðɪɾt:ɕi]	"	"	"	'shock'
aa ^h ci (< aa ^h -ci)	\bar{V}^R L	"	"	'rule'
pura ^h ci (< pura ^h -ci)	CVCV ^R L	"	"	'revolution'

TABLE 7.131

Suffixation of -tu

7.4.37 The phonetic form of this verbal noun suffix is expressed in phonological formulae as $\underline{d}PI^W$. This suffix syllable consists of a short voiceless dental plosive followed by a short backclose vowel. All the verb stems taking this suffix are with a retroflex lateral as their final C element.

The internal junction between verb stems and this suffix is characterized by the stem final retroflex lateral and suffix initial dental plosive being realized as a long tense retroflex plosive articulation (See 6.6.35).

$$\underline{r}_L + \underline{d}_{PI}^W \rightarrow \underline{r}_{PI}^W$$

Thus $\text{veru} \downarrow + \text{tu} \rightarrow \text{veru} \uparrow \text{tu}$. The examples given below should be interpreted with this in mind.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
veru \uparrow tu	CVCV r L	$\underline{r}_L + \underline{d}_{PI}^W \rightarrow \underline{r}_{PI}^W$	\underline{d}_{PI}^W	'threat'
pira \uparrow tu	"	"	"	'cheating'
cuRu \uparrow tu	"	"	"	'cigar'
cu \downarrow a \uparrow tu	"	"	"	'rotation'
ka \downarrow a \uparrow tu	"	"	"	'foolery'
tira \uparrow tu	"	"	"	'collection'
uru \uparrow tu	VCV r L	"	"	'rollings'
iru \uparrow tu	"	"	"	'darkness'

TABLE 7.132

Suffixation of -mati

7.4.38 The phonetic form of this disyllabic verbal noun suffix may be expressed in phonological formulae as $\text{b}_{-NA}^{\text{Od}} \text{FI}^Y$. The suffix initial is a short bilabial nasal. The medial vowel is a short back vocalic articulation between open and half-open, but nearer half-open than open. The medial consonant is a short dental fricative. The suffix

final vocalic element is a short front close vowel.

- (a) The internal junction between verb stems that are W-prosodic and this suffix is characterized by \neq prosody.
- (b) The internal junction between verb stems with a flap or a trill as their final C member and this suffix is characterized by a syllabic vowel which can be expressed in phonological formulae as $-I^W$. The phonetic implication of this is a short back close vowel.

$$CV \begin{Bmatrix} f_L \\ T \end{Bmatrix} + b_N - \longrightarrow CV \begin{Bmatrix} f_L \\ T \end{Bmatrix} I^W b_N$$

- (c) In this isolated instance, the internal junction between the verb stem with a retroflex lateral C final and this suffix is characterized by \neq prosody.
- (d) The internal junction between stems of the syllabic structure CVC wherein the final C is a flap and this suffix is characterized by \neq prosody.

All the above statements are illustrated as follows:

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
eettu-mati	$V\bar{C}V^W$	\neq	$b_{NA}Od_{FI}Y$	'export'
iRakku-mati	$VCV\bar{C}V^W$	"	"	'import'
vaanku-mati	$C\bar{V}NCV^W$	"	"	'obtaining'
ku \uparrow ukku-mati	$CVCV\bar{C}V^W$	"	"	'giving'
var-u-mati	CV^fL	"	"	'what one owes to another'

tar-u-mati	CV ^f _L	/	b _{NA} ^{Od} FI ^Y	'what one owes to another'
peR-u-mati	CVT	"	"	'the worth of an article'
ko]-mati	CV ^r _L	"	"	'cost price'
ceer-mati	CV ^f _L	"	"	'relation'
tiir-mati	"	"	"	'decision'

TABLE 7.133

Verbal Nouns without Suffixation

7.4.39 Another major method of deriving verbal nouns is by nominalizing the verb stem without any suffixation. In these cases, the monosyllabic or disyllabic or trisyllabic verb stem itself functions as the nominative case form of the verbal noun. Most of the verbal stems functioning in this manner are non-C final and they can be classified into the following types: (a) Non-C final monosyllabic verb stems with heavy syllable quantity.

7.4.40

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Gloss
caa	^H CV	'death'
noo	"	'pain'
puu	"	'flower'

TABLE 7.134

7.4.41 (b) Disyllabic verb stems with initial heavy syllables.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Gloss
tuukku	^{H-L} CV ^f CV	'hanging'
maattu	"	'spare dress'

laattu	$\begin{smallmatrix} H & L \\ C\bar{V}CV \end{smallmatrix}$	'stroll'
puu <u>tt</u> u	"	'lock'
caa <u>tt</u> u	"	'excuse'
uu <u>tt</u> u	$\begin{smallmatrix} H & L \\ V\bar{C}V \end{smallmatrix}$	'feeding'
eettu	"	'loading'
ettu	$\begin{smallmatrix} H & L \\ V\bar{C}V \end{smallmatrix}$	'kick'
ti <u>tt</u> u	$\begin{smallmatrix} H & L \\ C\bar{V}CV \end{smallmatrix}$	'scolding'
tu <u>ll</u> u	"	'jump'
ta <u>ll</u> u	"	'push'
tottu	"	'leap'
ku <u>tt</u> u	"	'knock'
kattu	"	'shout'
ka <u>tt</u> u	"	'bandage'
ve <u>tt</u> u	"	'cut'
kavvu	"	'bite'
kuttu	"	'punch'
cuttu	"	'cigar'
canti _n	$\begin{smallmatrix} H \\ C\bar{V}N\bar{C}\bar{V} \end{smallmatrix}$	'junction'
kuntu _n	"	'door step'
collu	$\begin{smallmatrix} H & L \\ C\bar{V}\bar{C}\bar{V} \end{smallmatrix}$	'word'
mi <u>n</u> <u>tt</u> u	$\begin{smallmatrix} H \\ C\bar{V}N\bar{C}\bar{V} \end{smallmatrix}$	'prop'
kiiRu	$\begin{smallmatrix} H & L \\ C\bar{V}CV \end{smallmatrix}$	'scratch'

TABLE 7.135

7.4.42 (c) Disyllabic non-C final verb stems with initial and final light syllables.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Gloss
kuṭi	L L CVCV	'addiction to liquor'
puḷi	"	'tamarind'
cuḷi	"	'crown'
muḷi	"	'eye'
vali	"	'pain'
paḷi	"	'sin'
vaṭi	"	'straining'
piṭi	"	'handle'
paṭe	"	'offering to god'
maṭi	"	'fold'
koti	"	'jealousy'
miti	"	'tread'
tiri	"	'wick'
kaṭi	"	'bite'
veṛi	"	'drunkenness'
veṭi	"	'explosion'
muṛi	"	'a piece'
kuṛi	"	'mark'
kuṛe	"	'worry'
kate	"	'talk'
tuḷe	"	'hole'
kaḷe	"	'fatigue'
muḷe	"	'sprout'

puke	L L CVCV	'smoke'
cune	"	'sense of shame'
aRe	L L VCV	'slap'
a <i>↑</i> i	"	'beating'
ute	"	'kick'
i <i>↑</i> i	"	'pushing'
eRi	"	'throw'

TABLE 7.136

7.4.43 (d) Trisyllabic non-C final verb stems with either initial or medial heavy syllables.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Gloss
naRukku	L H L CVCVCV	'that which is cut'
cu <i>↓</i> ukku	"	'sprain'
ku <i>↓</i> ampu	L H L CVCVNCV	'a kind of hot curry'
kumpi <i>↑</i> u	H L L CVNCVCV	'salutation'
u <i>↓</i> akku	L H L VCVCV	'trampling'
amattu	"	'pressing'

TABLE 7.137

It should be noted here that all the verb stems that are nominalized without any suffixation are either W or Y-prosodic stems.

7.4.44 (e) C final monosyllabic verb stem with heavy syllable.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Gloss
peen <i>↓</i>	H CVC	'well sweep prop'

TABLE 7.138

(f) C final disyllabic verb stems with final heavy syllables.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Gloss
ku ir	$\begin{smallmatrix} L & H \\ CVCVC \end{smallmatrix}$	'cold temperature'
ta ir	"	'tender sprout'
curu	"	'that which is rolled'

TABLE 7.139

One of the major methods of deriving verbal nouns is found in disyllabic, trisyllabic and quadrisyllabic verb stems with light syllables changing into heavy ones.

7.4.45 (g) The second syllable of the following verb stems change from light to heavy ones or this change can be explained in another way. The intervocalic dental or glottal fricative of trisyllabic verb stems are realized as a long tense dental or velar plosive articulation. $\begin{smallmatrix} d/g \\ -FV \end{smallmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{smallmatrix} d/v \\ \bar{P} \end{smallmatrix} V$

Thus e|utu \rightarrow e|uttu. The examples given below should be interpreted with this in mind.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Gloss
e uttu ($\begin{smallmatrix} L & H & L \\ VCV^d\bar{P}V \end{smallmatrix}$)	$\begin{smallmatrix} L & L & L \\ VCV^d_{FV} \end{smallmatrix}$	'registration of marriage'
karuttu ($\begin{smallmatrix} L & H & L \\ CVCV^d\bar{P}V \end{smallmatrix}$)	$\begin{smallmatrix} L & L & L \\ CVCV^d_{FV} \end{smallmatrix}$	'opinion'
urukku ($\begin{smallmatrix} L & H & L \\ VCV^v\bar{P}V \end{smallmatrix}$)	$\begin{smallmatrix} L & L & L \\ VCV^g_{FV} \end{smallmatrix}$	'melting'
iRukku	"	'tightening'
o ukku	"	'leakage'
muRukku ($\begin{smallmatrix} L & H & L \\ CVCV^v\bar{P}V \end{smallmatrix}$)	$\begin{smallmatrix} L & L & L \\ CVCV^g_{FV} \end{smallmatrix}$	'an eatable'

TABLE 7.140

7.4.46 (h) The second and third syllable that are light in disyllabic and quadrisyllabic C variable complex verb stems change into heavy ones. Thus eeRpatu → eeRpaatu . The examples given below should be interpreted with this in mind.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Gloss
eeRpaa <u>t</u> u ($\begin{smallmatrix} \text{H} & \text{H} & \text{L} \\ \text{VCCVCV} \end{smallmatrix}$)	$\begin{smallmatrix} \text{H} & \text{L} & \text{L} \\ \text{VCCVCV} \end{smallmatrix}$	'arrangement'
ka <u>t</u> tuppaa <u>t</u> u ($\begin{smallmatrix} \text{H} & \text{H} & \text{H} & \text{L} \\ \text{CVCVCVCVCV} \end{smallmatrix}$)	$\begin{smallmatrix} \text{H} & \text{H} & \text{L} & \text{L} \\ \text{CVCVCVCVCV} \end{smallmatrix}$	'control'
mu <u>t</u> tuppaa <u>t</u> u "	"	'poverty'
ta <u>t</u> tuppaa <u>t</u> u "	"	'shortage'
veleppaa <u>t</u> u "	"	'workmanship'

TABLE 7.141

7.4.47 (i) Disyllabic verb stems with initial light syllables change into heavy syllables.

Thus itu → iitu . The examples given below should be interpreted with this in mind.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Gloss
ii <u>t</u> u ($\begin{smallmatrix} \text{H} & \text{L} \\ \text{VCV} \end{smallmatrix}$)	$\begin{smallmatrix} \text{L} & \text{L} \\ \text{VCV} \end{smallmatrix}$	'mortgage'
cuu <u>t</u> u ($\begin{smallmatrix} \text{H} & \text{L} \\ \text{CVCV} \end{smallmatrix}$)	$\begin{smallmatrix} \text{L} & \text{L} \\ \text{CVCV} \end{smallmatrix}$	'shot'
kee <u>t</u> u "	"	'ruin'
paa <u>t</u> u "	"	'condition'

TABLE 7.142

7.4.48 (j) The intervocalic retroflex flap or alveolar fricative of C variable verb stems are realized as a long tense retroflex plosive or an affricate, respectively, in

the nominalization process. $\left\{ \begin{matrix} \bar{r} \\ \bar{x} \end{matrix} \right\} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{matrix} \bar{r} \\ \bar{p} \end{matrix} \right\}$
 $\left\{ \begin{matrix} \bar{a} \\ \bar{f} \end{matrix} \right\} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{matrix} \bar{a} \\ \bar{q} \end{matrix} \right\}$

Thus paatu \rightarrow paattu

peecu \rightarrow peeccu

The examples given below should be interpreted with this in mind.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Gloss
paa <u>t</u> u	C $\bar{V}^{\bar{r}}$ XV	'song'
kuu <u>t</u> u	"	'mixture of condiments'
aa <u>t</u> u	$\bar{V}^{\bar{r}}$ XV	'shaking'
eeccu	\bar{V}^a FV	'scolding'
[e:t:(w)] peeccu	C \bar{V}^a FV	'speech'
[pe:t:(w)] puuccu	"	'painting'
[pu:t:(u)] muuccu	"	'breadth'
[mu:t:(w)] viiecu	"	'stretching'
[vi:t:(w)] vi <u>ayaa</u> <u>t</u> u	CVCVC $\bar{V}^{\bar{r}}$ XV	'sports'

TABLE 7.143

Suffixation of -maanam

7.4.49 This suffix can be expressed in phonological formulae as $b_{-NA} \bar{O}a_{NA} \bar{O}b_N$. The suffix initial is a short bilabial nasal. The long medial nasalized vocalic articulation in the first syllable of the suffix is in the open range. The medial consonantal element is a short alveolar nasal. The medial nasalized vowel in the second syllable is short and is between open and half-open, but nearer half-open than open.

7.4.50 (a) When a verb stem that is Y-prosodic take this suffix, the internal junction is characterized by / prosody.

7.4.51 (b) When verb stems of the syllabic pattern CVC take this suffix, the internal junction between the stem final C and the suffix initial C is characterized by a syllabic vowel which may be expressed in phonological formulae as $-I^W$.

The phonetic exponent of this is a short back close articulation. $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \underline{f}_L \\ -T \end{array} \right\} + b_N - \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \underline{f}_L \\ -T \end{array} \right\} \quad I^W \quad b_N$

7.4.52 (c) When verb stems that are of the syllabic structure \overline{CVC} take this suffix, the internal junction is characterized by / prosody.

All these are illustrated as follows:

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
pa [†] i-maanam	CVCV ^Y	/	$b_N \overline{a}^O a_N \overline{a}^O b_N$	'obedience'
var-u-maanam	CV ^f _L	$-I^W$	"	'income'
peR-u-maanam	CVT	"	"	'the worth of an article'
tiir-maanam	\overline{CV}^f _L	/	"	'decision'
ceer-maanam	"	"	"	'relation'

TABLE 7.144

THE MINOR METHODS OF DERIVATION

7.4.53 Having discussed the major methods of deriving verbal nouns, the minor methods are now taken into consideration. Some verbal noun suffixes are not productive of forms. Only an isolated example or two could be attested for the occurrence of such suffixes with verb stems.

Therefore in these cases no generalizations can be made.

Suffixation of -le

7.4.54 The suffix syllable consists of a short alveolar lateral followed by a short front vowel between half-close and half-open, but nearer half-open than half-close. The verb stem in the following isolated instance is 0-prosodic and the internal junction is characterized by / prosody.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
civa-le	CVCV ⁰	/	^a LE ^Y	'a person of fair complexion'

TABLE 7.145

Suffixation of -ti

7.4.55 The suffix syllable consists of a short voiceless dental plosive as consonantal element and it is followed by a short front close vowel. In the following isolated instance, the C final of the verb stem is an alveolar lateral and the internal junction is characterized by the verb stem final alveolar lateral and suffix initial dental plosive being realized as a long tense alveolar plosive articulation.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
veRRi < vel-ti [ʊet:i]	CV ^a L	^a L + ^d P- → ^a P	^a PI ^Y	'victory'

TABLE 7.146

Suffixation of -pe

7.4.56 The suffix syllable consists of a short bilabial plosive followed by a short front vowel between half-close and half-open, but nearer half-open than half-close. In the following isolated instance, the verb stem is W-prosodic and the internal junction is characterized by g prosody.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
kilukilu-p-pe	CVCVCVCV ^W	g	^b PE ^Y	'rattle'

TABLE 7.147

7.4.57

Suffixation of -ttu

7.4.57 The suffix syllable consists of a long tense dental plosive followed by a short back close vocalic articulation. In the following isolated instance, the verb stem is of the syllabic structure CVC wherein the C final is a flap and the internal junction between the C final verb stem and the suffix initial C is characterized by a syllabic vowel which is between open and half-open, but nearer half-open than open.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
var-a-ttu	CV ^f L	-A ^O	d ⁻ PI ^W	'coming'

TABLE 7.148

Suffixation of -me

7.4.58 The suffix syllable consists of a short bilabial nasal followed by a short nasalized vocalic articulation

which is between half-close and half-open, but nearer half-open than half-close.

There are only three verb stems that take this suffix and two of them are W-prosodic disyllabic stems. In all the three instances, the internal junction is characterized by / prosody. Semantically, the verbal nouns formed with this suffix express abstract concepts.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
poRu-me	CVCV ^W	/	b-NE ^Y	'patience'
peru-me	"	"	"	'pride'
ini-me	VCV ^Y	"	"	'sweetness'

TABLE 7.149

Suffixation of -ne

7.4.59 Phonetically the suffix syllable consists of a short alveolar nasal followed by a short front nasalized vowel between half-close and half-open, but nearer half-open than half-close.

All the four verb stems that take this suffix belong to the marginal class. They are Y-prosodic and the internal junction is characterized by / prosody.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
coo <i>†</i> i-ne	CVCV ^Y	/	a-NE ^Y	'decoration'
cooti-ne	"	"	"	'examination'
yooci-ne	"	"	"	'thought'
aalooci-ne	VCVCV ^Y	"	"	'consultation'

TABLE 7.150

Suffixation of -ale

7.4.60 The suffix initial of this disyllabic suffix is a short vowel between open and half-open, but nearer half-open than open. The medial consonantal articulation is a short alveolar lateral. The suffix final is a short vowel between half-close and half-open, but nearer half-open than half-close. Only an isolated example is attested below to illustrate the occurrence of this suffix. The verb stem is W-prosodic and the internal junction is characterized by a short dental fricative as junctional element.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
vi <u>t</u> -t-ale [vɪtʷəʔʌlɛ]	CVCV ^W	<u>d</u> -F-	-A ^{Oa} LE ^Y	'holiday'

TABLE 7.151

Suffixation of -aame

7.4.61 The suffix initial of this disyllabic ~~negative~~ verbal noun suffix is a long vowel in the open region. The medial consonantal element is a short bilabial nasal. The suffix final is a short front vowel between half-close and half-open, but nearer half-open than half-close. Only two forms could be attested for the occurrence of this suffix. The verb stems are W-prosodic and the internal junction is characterized by the elision of the stem final vocalic element.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
poR-aame	CVC(V ^W)	-ɪ ^W	-A ^{Ob} NE ^Y	'jealousy'
tiinɿ-aame	C ^W VNC(V ^W)	"	"	'untouchability'

TABLE 7.152

Suffixation of -ke

7.4.62 The suffix syllable is made up of a short velar plosive consonantal articulation followed by a short vocalic articulation which is between half-close and half-open, but nearer half-open than half-close.

(a) Non-C final verb stems taking this suffix are either W or Y-prosodic and the internal junction is characterized by g prosody.

(b) The only C final verb stem occurring with this suffix has a retroflex lateral as its C final and the internal junction between the stem C final and the suffix initial is characterized by g prosody.

The above statements are illustrated as follows:

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
paɿu-k-ke	CVCV ^W	g	V-PE ^Y	'bed'
eccari-k-ke	V ^W CVCV ^Y	"	"	'warning'
vaaɿ-k-ke	C ^W V ^r L	"	"	'life'

TABLE 7.153

7.4.63 Other minor methods of deriving verbal nouns from verb stems are as follows:

7.4.63 (a) The -NP- of verb stems being realized as \bar{P} in the nominalization process. $\begin{matrix} r/v & r/v \\ -N & PI^W \end{matrix} \rightarrow \bar{PI}^W$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	Gloss
tiit̪u < tiin̪u	$\bar{C}\bar{V}^r N^r P V^W$	$\bar{I}^r N^r P \rightarrow \bar{P}$	'pollution'
vi]akku < vi]an̪ku	$CVCV^v N^v P V^W$	$\bar{V}^v N^v P \rightarrow \bar{P}$	'lamp'
curukku < curun̪ku	"	"	'hangman's knot'

TABLE 7.154

7.4.64 (b) The medial short close front vocalic articulation of monosyllabic verb stems of the syllabic structure CVC wherein the final C is an alveolar nasal is realized as a long one in the nominalization process. $CV^a N \rightarrow C\bar{V}^a N$

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	Gloss
miin < min	$CV^a N$	$-I^Y \rightarrow \bar{I}^Y$	'fish'
tiin < tin	"	"	'food'

TABLE 7.155

7.4.65 (c) In the following isolated instance, the medial long vocalic element in the open region of a monosyllabic verb stem is realized as a short vowel between open and half-open, but nearer half-open than open.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	Gloss
kan̪ < kaan̪	$\bar{C}\bar{V}^r N$	$-\bar{A}^0 \rightarrow A^0$	'eye'

TABLE 7.156

4.66 (d) In the following instance, the short close front vowel in the second syllable of the verb stem is realized

as a long open unrounded vowel.

Rdg.Tpn.	St.	Jtn.	Gloss
caappaa <u>t</u> u < caappi <u>t</u> u	C \bar{V} C \bar{V} CV ^W	-I ^Y → \bar{A}^0	'meal'

TABLE 7.157

7.5

ADJECTIVAL SYSTEMADJECTIVES WITHOUT SUFFIXATION

7.5.1 In a majority of instances in Tamil, the mere juxtaposition of two nominals makes the first nominal function as a modifier nominal and the second nominal as the modified nominal (e.g. tayir 'curd' + vate 'a kind of cake' → tayir vate 'cake made with curd'). Apart from this class of nominal compounds, there are some W-prosodic disyllabic, trisyllabic and quadrisyllabic nominal stems of the syllabic structure (C) \bar{V} CV or CVCVCV or C \bar{V} C \bar{V} CV or CVCVC \bar{V} CV wherein the consonantal element of the final syllable is either a retroflex flap or a trill. The retroflex flap or trill in the final syllable of such nominals are realized as a long tense retroflex plosive or as a dental plosive respectively when the nominal stems in which they occur are in an attributive construction with other nominals. This inflection of the modifier nominal may be expressed in phonological formulae as

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \bar{r}X \\ -T \end{array} \right\} V + \left\{ \begin{array}{c} V \\ C \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \begin{array}{c} r/d \\ \bar{P}V \end{array} + \left\{ \begin{array}{c} V \\ C \end{array} \right\}$$

Uninf. Fm.	St.	Gloss	Inf. Fm.	St.
aa <u>t</u> u	$\bar{V}^r XV^W$	'goat'	aa <u>t</u> u (+Nom.) $^4 \bar{V}^r \bar{P}V^W$	
vii <u>t</u> u	$C\bar{V}^r XV^W$	'house'	vii <u>t</u> u (+Nom.) $C\bar{V}^r \bar{P}V^W$	
koo <u>t</u> u	"	'line'	koo <u>t</u> u (+Nom.) "	
kuu <u>t</u> u	"	'cage'	kuu <u>t</u> u (+Nom.) "	
maa <u>t</u> u	"	'cattle(sg.)'	maa <u>t</u> u (+Nom.) "	
cooRu	$C\bar{V}TV^W$	'rice'	coottu (+Nom.) $C\bar{V}^d \bar{P}V^W$	
kiŋaRu	$CVCVTV^W$	'well'	kiŋattu (+Nom.) $CVCV^d \bar{P}V^W$	
kayiRu	"	'rope'	kayittu (+Nom.) "	
vayiRu	"	'stomach'	vayittu (+Nom.) "	
muRa <u>t</u> u	$CVCV^r XV^W$	'roughness'	muRa <u>t</u> u (+Nom.) $CVCV^r \bar{P}V^W$	
kuru <u>t</u> u	"	'blindness'	kuru <u>t</u> u (+Nom.) "	
cevi <u>t</u> u	"	'deafness'	cevi <u>t</u> u (+Nom.) "	
caappaa <u>t</u> u	$C\bar{V}C\bar{V}^r XV^W$	'meal'	caappaa <u>t</u> u (+Nom.) $C\bar{V}C\bar{V}^r \bar{P}V^W$	
karuvaa <u>t</u> u	$CVCVC\bar{V}^r XV^W$	'dried fish'	karuvaa <u>t</u> u (+Nom.) $CVCVC\bar{V}^r \bar{P}V^W$	

TABLE 7.158

7.5.2 The junction between such inflected W-prosodic nominal stems functioning as adjectives and other nominals are characterized as follows:

7.5.3 (a) If the modified nominal begins with a vocalic element, then the external junction is characterized by the elision of the final vocalic element of the modifier

nominal (Nominal (1)). $\frac{d/r}{-PI}^W + V \rightarrow \frac{d/r}{-P\bar{I}}^W V$

4. The symbol +Nom. enclosed within brackets indicates a following nominal.

Modifier Nominal	Modified Nominal	Nominal Compound	Jtn.	Gloss
viiṭṭu	+ ootṭu	→ viiṭṭootṭu	-ɹ ^W	'house tile'
muRaṭṭu	+ aacaami	→ muRaṭṭaacaami	"	'a ruffian'
mooṭṭu	+ aṭi	→ mooṭṭaṭi	"	'sound thrashing'
kuruṭṭu	+ aṭi	→ kuruṭṭaṭi	"	'unforseeable luck'
kiṇattu	+ aṭi	→ kiṇattaṭi	"	'well side'
kayittu	+ eenṭi	→ kayitteeni	"	'rope ladder'
caappaaṭṭu	+ aRe	→ caappaaṭṭaRe	"	'dinning room'

TABLE 7.159

7.5.4 (b) When the initial C of the modified nominal is a plosive, the external junction is characterized by g prosody.

$$-I^W + P- \rightarrow -I^W \bar{P}-$$

Modifier Nominal	Modified Nominal	Nominal Compound	Jtn.	Gloss
aaṭṭu	+ tool	→ aaṭṭu-t-tool	g	'sheep skin'
aaṭṭu	+ puḷukke	→ aaṭṭu-p-puḷukke	"	'sheep dung'
kooṭṭu	+ tiirppu	→ kooṭṭu-t-tiirppu	"	'court decision'
viiṭṭu	+ tuRappu	→ viiṭṭu-t-tiRappu	"	'house key'
kuuṭṭu	+ katavu	→ kuuṭṭu-k-katavu	"	'cage door'
maaṭṭu	+ paal	→ maaṭṭu-p-paal	"	'cow milk'
coottu	+ paane	→ coottu-p-paane	"	'rice pot'
vayittu	+ kuttu	→ vayittu-k-kuttu	"	'stomach ache'
kayittu	+ tuṇṭu	→ kayittu-t-tuṇṭu	"	'piece of rope'
muRaṭṭu	+ piṭi	→ muRaṭṭu-p-piṭi	"	'iron grip'

kuruṭṭu	+	kaṇ	→	kuruṭṭu-k-kaṇ	'blind eye'
ceviṭṭu	+	kaatu	→	ceviṭṭu-k-kaatu	'deaf ear'
caappaaṭṭu	+	kaacu	→	caappaaṭṭu-k-kaacu	'meal money'
karuvaaṭṭu	+	kaRi	→	karuvaaṭṭu-k-kaRi	'dried fish curry'

TABLE 7.160

7.5.5 (c) When the initial C of the modified nominal is either a nasal or a continuant, the external junction is characterized by / prosody.

Modifier Nominal	Modified Nominal	Nominal Compound	Jtn. Gloss
aaṭṭu	+ mayir	→ aaṭṭumayir	/ 'sheep wool'
kayittu	+ muṭiccu	→ kayittumuṭiccu	" 'roll of rope'
kayittu	+ nuni	→ kayittununi	" 'end of rope'
mooṭṭu	+ muuḷe	→ mooṭṭumuḷe	" 'stupid brain'
caappaaṭṭu	+ neeram	→ caappaaṭṭuneeram	" 'meal time'
karuvaaṭṭu	+ maṇam	→ karuvaaṭṭumaṇam	" 'smell of dried fish'
kiṇattu	+ vaaḷi	→ kiṇattuvaaḷi	" 'well bucket'
viiṭṭu	+ yannal	→ viiṭṭuyannal	" 'house window'
kooṭṭu	+ vaḷakku	→ kooṭṭuvaḷakku	" 'court case'
kaaṭṭu	+ vayiravar	→ kaaṭṭuvayiravar	" 'a forest deity'

TABLE 7.161

ADJECTIVES BY SUFFIXATION

7.5.6 Apart from the class of nominals discussed in the preceding section, there are some nominals that occur with adjectival suffixes when they function as modifiers. The

adjectival suffixes taken by nominals are -aana , -ttu , -aam and -aavatu . Of these suffixes, the suffix -aana is the most productive of forms and so it will be first taken into consideration.

Suffixation of -aana

7.5.7 The structure of this disyllabic adjectival suffix may be expressed phonologically as $\bar{A}^0 a N A^0$. The suffix initial vocalic element is a long vowel in the open region. The medial consonantal element is a short alveolar nasal. The suffix final is a short back vocalic articulation between open and half-open, but nearer half-open than open. The junction between nominal stems and this suffix is characterized as follows:

7.5.8 (a) When the nominal stem is Y-prosodic, the internal junction is characterized by Y-prosody.

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} -I^Y \\ -E^Y \end{array} \right\} + \bar{A}^0 \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} -I^Y \\ -E^Y \end{array} \right\} Y \bar{A}^0$$

Adj.Fm.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
cari-y-aana (+Nom.)	CVCV ^Y	Y	$\bar{A}^0 a N A^0$	'that which is correct'
vile-y-aana (+Nom.)	"	"	"	'that which is costly'
pi e-y-aana (+Nom.)	"	"	"	'that which is incorrect'
olli-y-aana (+Nom.)	V \bar{C} V ^Y	"	"	'that which is lean'
caati-y-aana (+Nom.)	C \bar{V} C ^Y	"	"	'that which is of an odd type'
neetti-y-aana (+Nom.)	C \bar{V} C \bar{V} ^Y	"	"	'that which is excellent'

arume-y-aana (+Nom.)	VCVCV ^Y	Y	- \bar{A}^0a NA ⁰	'that which is excellent'
vaRume-y-aana (+Nom.)	CVCVCV ^Y	"	"	'that which is poor'
muspaatti-y-aana (+Nom.)	CVCCVCV ^Y	"	"	'that which is entertaining'

TABLE 7.162

7.5.9 (b) The internal junction between W-prosodic nominal stems and this suffix is characterized by W-prosody in the following instances. $-I^W + \bar{A}^0 \rightarrow I^W \quad W \quad \bar{A}^0$

Adj.Fm.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
potu-v-aana (+Nom.)	CVCV ^W	W	- \bar{A}^0a NA ⁰	'that which is common'
caatu-v-aana (+Nom.)	CVCV ^W	"	"	'that which is harmless'

TABLE 7.163

7.5.10 (c) The junction between W-prosodic C variable stems and this vocalic initial suffix is characterized by the elision of the stem final vocalic element.

$$-I^W + \bar{A}^0 \rightarrow -I^W \bar{A}^0$$

Thus leecu + aana (+Nom.) \rightarrow leecaana (+Nom.).

The examples given below should be interpreted with this in mind.

Adj.Fm.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
leec-aana (+Nom.)	CVC(V ^W)	-I ^W	- \bar{A}^0a NA ⁰	'that which is easy'
uRepp-aana (+Nom.)	VCVC(V ^W)	"	"	'that which is hot'
a [†] aatt-aana (+Nom.)	VCVC(V ^W)	"	"	'that which is improper'
va [†] iv-aana (+Nom.)	CVCVC(V ^W)	"	"	'that which is beautiful'

na app-aana (+Nom.)	CVCVC \bar{C} (V ^W)	- χ^W	\bar{A}^0aNA^0	'that which is influential'
cokuc-aana (+Nom.)	CVCVC(V ^W)	"	"	'that which is comfortable'

TABLE 7.164

7.5.11 (d) The junction between non-plosive C final nominal stems and this suffix is characterized by \neq prosody.

Adj.Fm.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
kuur-aana (+Nom.)	C \bar{V}^f L	\neq	\bar{A}^0aNA^0	'that which is sharp'
cikkal-aana (+Nom.)	CVC \bar{V}^a L	"	"	'that which is difficult'
luuc-aana (+Nom.)	C \bar{V}^a F	"	"	'that which is loose'
srayil-aana (+Nom.)	CCVC \bar{V}^a L	"	"	'that which is stylish'
cakaayam-aana (+Nom.)	CVC \bar{V}^b C \bar{V}^b N	"	"	'that which is profitable'
pa \int akkam-aana (+Nom.)	CVCVC \bar{V}^b N	"	"	'that which is familiar'

TABLE 7.165

7.5.12 (e) In the following instances, the C final of the nominal stem is a short velar plosive and the internal junction is characterized by the stem final plosive being realized as a long tense one (by g prosody).

$$\bar{V}P + \bar{A}^0 \rightarrow \bar{V}^gP \bar{A}^0$$

Adj.Fm.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
lakk-aana (+Nom.)	C \bar{V}^g P	g	\bar{A}^0aNA^0	'that which is lucky'
kiRaakk-aana (+Nom.)	CC \bar{V}^g P	"	"	'(he who) is mentally deranged'

TABLE 7.166

Suffixation of -ttu

7.5.13 The structure of this monosyllabic adjectival suffix may be expressed in phonological formulae as d-PI^W . The suffix syllable consists of a long tense dental plosive followed by a short back close vowel. Nominals taking this suffix have a short bilabial nasal as their final C element preceded by a vocalic element in their independent (nominative case) forms. The internal junction between such nominals and this suffix is characterized by the elision of the stem final bilabial nasal. $-V^b N + \text{d-PI}^W \rightarrow -V^b \text{d-PI}^W$

Adj.Fm.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
mallaaka-ttu (pas)	$\text{CVCVCV}(\text{b}_N)$	b_M	d-PI^W	'bus to Mallaakam'
cunnaaka-ttu (-k-kaar)	"	"	"	'a car from Cunnaakam'
maṭa-ttu (-c-caamiyaar)	$\text{CVCV}(\text{b}_N)$	"	"	'an ascetic from a hermitage'
kuṭa-ttu (miin)	"	"	"	'fish from a pond'
tooṭa-ttu (veeli)	$\text{CVCV}(\text{b}_N)$	"	"	'garden fence'

TABLE 7.167

Suffixation of -aam

7.5.14 This vocalic initial adjectival suffix may be given the formulaic expression $-\text{A}^{\text{Ob}} N$. Phonetically it implies a long vocalic articulation in the open range closed by a short bilabial nasal. This suffix is statable after W-prosodic and C final nominal stems.

7.5.15 (a) The internal junction between W-prosodic stems

and this suffix is characterized by the elision of the stem final vocalic element. $-I^W + \bar{A}^O \rightarrow -I^W \bar{A}^O$

Thus pullu + aam (+ku]al) \rightarrow pullaam (ku]al).

The examples given below should be interpreted with this in mind.

Adj.Fm.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
pull-aam (ku]al)	$CV\bar{C}(V^W)$	$-I^W$	$-\bar{A}^{Ob}_N$	'flute'
muun [†] -aam (tavaṇe)	$C\bar{V}NC(V^W)$	"	"	'third postpone- ment'
e [†] -aam (vakuppu)	$V\bar{C}(V^W)$	"	"	'eighth class'

TABLE 7.168

7.5.16 (b) If the nominal stem is of the syllabic structure CVC, the internal junction is characterized by the stem final short C element being realized as a long tense one (by g prosody). $CV \begin{Bmatrix} r_N \\ r_L \end{Bmatrix} + \bar{A}^{Ob}_N \rightarrow CV \begin{Bmatrix} r_N \\ r_L \end{Bmatrix} \bar{A}^{Ob}_N$

Adj.Fm.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
manṇ-aam (ka [†]]i)	CV^r_N	g	$-\bar{A}^{Ob}_N$	'handful of earth'
kaṇṇ-aam (puucci)	"	"	"	'a game of hide and seek'
ve]]-aam (aa])	CV^r_L	"	"	'a man of the farmer's caste'

TABLE 7.169

7.5.17 (c) In all other cases of C final stems (i.e., stems of syllabic structure other than CVC) the internal junction is characterized by / prosody.

Adj.Fm.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
mutal-aam (pi le)	CVCV ^a _L	/	-A ^{Ob} _N	'first child'
ee -aam (ta ave)	V ^r _L	"	"	'seventh time'
vaal-aam (peette)	CV ^a _L	"	"	'tadpole'

TABLE 7.170

Suffixation of -aavatu

7.5.18 This trisyllabic ordinal suffix may be given the formulaic expression $-\bar{A}^O-PZA^{Od}FI^W$. The suffix initial vocalic element is long and in the open region. The consonantal element of the second syllable is a short labio-dental continuant and it is followed by a back vocalic articulation between open and half-open, but nearer half-open than open. The consonantal element in the final syllable is a short dental fricative. The suffix final is a short back close vowel. This suffix is statable after C variable stems that end in a vocalic element in their nominative forms and -L final stems.

7.5.19 (a) When the stem is a C variable W-prosodic one, the internal junction is characterized by the elision of the stem final element.

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} NC \\ \bar{C} \\ C \end{array} \right\} V^W + \bar{A}^O \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} NC \\ \bar{C} \\ C \end{array} \right\} \gamma^W \bar{A}^O$$

Thus $apcu + aavatu \rightarrow apcaavatu$. The examples given below should be interpreted with this in mind.

Adj.Fm.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
anc-aavatu(+Nom.)	VNC(V ^W)	-ɣ ^W	-A ^O -pZA ^{Od} FI ^W	'that which is fifth'
muun [†] -aavatu(+Nom.)	C ^W VNC(V ^W)	"	"	'that which is third'
patt-aavatu(+Nom.)	CV ^W C(V ^W)	"	"	'that which is tenth'
e [†] -aavatu(+Nom.)	V ^W C(V ^W)	"	"	'that which is eighth'
nuuR-aavatu(+Nom.)	C ^W V ^W C(V ^W)	"	"	'that which is hundreth'

TABLE 7.171

7.5.20 (b) When the stem final is a member of the L system, the internal junction is characterized by / prosody.

Adj.Fm.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
mutal-aavatu (+Nom.)	CVCV ^a _L	/	-A ^O -pZA ^{Od} FI ^W	'that which is first'
ee]-aavatu (+Nom.)	V ^r _L	"	"	'that which is seventh'

TABLE 7.172

7.5.21 The interrelations between the final elements of adjectival suffixes and the initial elements of the following (modified) nominal stems have not been treated here. As they are similar to those stated for nominal compounds without suffixation (See 6.8.6, 6.8.20, 6.8.38, 6.8.52-6.8.53, 6.8.55 etc.) no attempt is made to discuss them here.

7.6

ADVERBIAL SYSTEM

7.6.1 It may be recalled (See 2.10.1) that most of the nominals take the only adverbial suffix -aay and function as adverbs. The structure of this monosyllabic suffix -aay

may be expressed in phonological formulae as $-\bar{A}^{OpZ}$.

The phonetic implication of this is a long vowel in the open region closed by a short palatal continuant. The internal junction between nominal stems and this vocalic initial suffix is characterized as follows:

7.6.2 (a) When the nominal stem is Y-prosodic, the internal junction is characterized by Y-prosody. $-I^Y + \bar{A}^O \rightarrow I^Y Y A^O$

Adv.Fm.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
aaŋi-y-aay (+V) ⁵	$\bar{V}CV^Y$	Y	$-\bar{A}^{OpZ}$	'as a nail'
cari-y-aay (+V)	$CVCV^Y$	"	"	'as correct'
paŋci-y-aay (+V)	$CVNVCV^Y$	"	"	'as difficult'
ciŋki-y-aay (+V)	"	"	"	'as Ciŋki (pr.n.)'
coo [†] i-y-aay (+V)	$C\bar{V}CV^Y$	"	"	'as a pair'
paki [†] i-y-aay (+V)	$CVCVCV^Y$	"	"	'as a joke'
nii-y-aay (+V)	$C\bar{V}^Y$	"	"	'as you (sg.)'

TABLE 7.173

7.6.3 (b) The internal junction between W or O-prosodic stems and this suffix is characterized by W-prosody.

$$\begin{Bmatrix} -I^W \\ -E^W \\ -A^O \end{Bmatrix} + \bar{A}^O \longrightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} -I^W \\ -E^W \\ -A^O \end{Bmatrix} W A^O$$

5. The symbol +V enclosed within brackets indicates a following verb.

Adv.Fm.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
yeecu-v-aay (+V)	CVCV ^W	W	-A ^O P _Z	'as Jesus'
caatu-v-aay (+V)	"	"	"	'as harmless'
potu-v-aay (+V)	CVCV ^W	"	"	'as common'
Riccoo-v-aay (+V)	CVCV ^W	"	"	'as a rickshaw'
caan [†] oo-v-aay (+V)	CVNCV ^W	"	"	'as a man of physical strength'
appukkaattu-v-aay (+V)	VCVCVCV ^W	"	"	'as an advocate'
vimalaa-v-aay (+V)	CVCVCV ^O	"	"	'as Vimalaa(pr.n.)'
cantiraa-v-aay (+V)	CVNCVCV ^O	"	"	'as Cantiraa (pr.n.)'
amerikkaa-v-aay (+V)	VCVCVCV ^O	"	"	'as America'

TABLE 7.174

7.6.4 (c) The internal junction between C variable stems that end in a vocalic element in their nominative forms and this vocalic initial suffix is characterized by the elision of the stem final vocalic element.

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -NC \\ -\bar{C} \\ -C \end{array} \right\} I^W + \bar{A}^O \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} -NC \\ -\bar{C} \\ -C \end{array} \right\} I^W + \bar{A}^O$$

Thus on[†]u + aay (+V) → on[†]aay (+V). The examples given below should be interpreted with this in mind.

Adv.Fm.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
on [†] -aay (+V)	VNC(V ^W)	-I ^W	-A ^O P _Z	'as one'
kun ^c -aay (+V)	CVNC(V ^W)	"	"	'as a young bird'
cott-aay (+V)	CV ^c (V ^W)	"	"	'as wealth'

ve ^{††} -aay (+V)	CV ^W C(V ^W)	-ɹ ^W	-A ^{OpZ}	'as a cut'
kaac-aay(+V)	C ^W V ^W C(V ^W)	"	"	'as money'
mutuk-aay (+V)	CVCVC(V ^W)	"	"	'as back'
va [†] iv-aay (+V)	"	"	"	'beautifully'
mellic-aay (+V)	CV ^W CVC(V ^W)	"	"	'thinly'
upp-aay (+V)	V ^W C(V ^W)	"	"	'as salt'

TABLE 7.175

7.6.5 (d) The internal junction between nominal stems of the syllabic structure CVC and this suffix is characterized by the short stem final C element being realized as a long tense one (by g prosody).

$$CV^{CV} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} b/a/r \\ N \\ a_F \end{array} \right\} + \bar{A}^O \rightarrow CV \left\{ \begin{array}{c} b/a/r \\ N \\ a_F \end{array} \right\} + \bar{A}^O$$

Thus Rim + aay → Rimmaay. The examples given below should be interpreted with this in mind.

Adv.Fm.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
Rimm-aay (+V)	CV ^b N	g	-A ^{OpZ}	'as a rim'
pinn-aay (+V)	CV ^a N	"	"	'as a pin'
kanŋ-aay (+V)	CV ^r N	"	"	'as eyes'
pass-aay (+V)	CV ^a F	"	"	'as a bus'

TABLE 7.176

7.6.6 (e) The internal junction between C final stems that (1) are not with a plosive or an affricate or a velar nasal C final (2) are not of the syllabic structure CVC and this suffix is characterized by / prosody.

Adv.Fm.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
naan-aay (+V)	$C\bar{V}^a N$	/	$-\bar{A}^0 P_Z$	'as I'
monkaan-aay (+V)	$CVNC\bar{V}^a N$	"	"	'as a stone pounder'
tuun-aay (+V)	$C\bar{V}^r N$	"	"	'as a pillar'
pavun-aay (+V)	$CVCV^r N$	"	"	'as gold'
aluval-aay	$VCVCV^a L$	"	"	'as work'
caampal-aay (+V)	$C\bar{V}NCV^a L$	"	"	'as ash'
pakkuus-aay (+V)	$CV\bar{C}\bar{V}^a F$	"	"	'as a kind of wood'
cattaar-aay (+V)	$CV\bar{C}\bar{V}^f L$	"	"	'as not straight'
nattaar-aay (+V)	"	"	"	'as christmas'
mee[-aay (+V)	$C\bar{V}^r L$	"	"	'as daughter'
cayikki[-aay (+V)	$CVCV\bar{C}\bar{V}^r L$	"	"	'as a bicycle'
ilavacam-aay (+V)	$VCVCVCV^b N$	"	"	'freely'
tantiram-aay (+V)	$CVNCVCV^b N$	"	"	'cleverly'

TABLE 7.177

7.6.7 (f) The internal junction between nominal stems (irrespective of their syllabic structure) of the marginal class with either a plosive or an affricate or a velar nasal and this vocalic initial suffix is characterized by the stem final short C element being realized as a long tense one (by g prosody.

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} -P \\ -Q \\ \bar{V}_N \end{array} \right\} + \bar{A}^0 \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} -\bar{P} \\ -\bar{Q} \\ \bar{V}_N \end{array} \right\} + \bar{A}^0$$

Adv.Fm.	St.	Jtn.	S.	Gloss
kaa [†] _l -aay (+V) [ga: [†] a:j]	C ^r _V P	g	-A ^{Op} _Z	'as a (railway) guard'
Riccaa [†] _l -aay (+V) [rit: [†] a:j]	CV ^r _C V ^r P	"	"	'as Riccaa [†] (pr.n.)'
cekk-aay (+V) [t [†] ek:a:j]	CV ^v P	"	"	'as a cheque'
paakk-aay (+V) [pa:k:a:j]	C ^v _V P	"	"	'as a park'
layi [†] _l -aay (+V) [l [†] ajit:a:j]	CVCV ^a P	"	"	'as light'
[†] anlopp-aay (+V) [d [†] anlop:a:j]	CVCCV ^b P	"	"	'as dunlop - a brand of goods'
cikare [†] _l -aay (+V) [sih [†] aret:a:j]	CVCVCV ^a P	"	"	'as cigarette'
mekkaanikk-aay (+V) [mek:a:nik:a:j]	CV ^r _C V ^r CV ^v P	"	"	'as a mechanic'
ceecc-aay (+V) [t [†] e:t:a:j]	C ^v _V Q	"	"	'as a church'
cuvicc-aay (+V) [su [†] it:a:j]	CVCVQ	"	"	'as a switch'
kaRaacc-aay (+V) [g [†] ara:t:a:j]	CVC ^v _V Q	"	"	'as a garage'
paan [†] _q -aay (+V) [ba: [†] q:a:j]	C ^v _V N	"	"	'as a bank'
poo [†] _l in [†] _q -aay (+V) [bo: [†] in [†] :a:j]	C ^v _V CV ^v N	"	"	'as a boarding'

TABLE 7.178

PART IV.

CHAPTER 8

8. INSTRUMENTAL EVIDENCE8.1 Experimental Devices Used

8.1.1 Palatography, kymography and spectrography are the three experimental devices used extensively during the course of the present research. These experimental findings were found invaluable in that the writer was able to check the validity of his statements made by pure proprioception. Before describing each set of experimental findings, a brief account is given of the apparatus used.

8.2 PALATOGRAPHY

8.2.1 The method used was direct palatography¹. The apparatus used is the one devised by Mr.J. Anthony, Lecturer in Linguistics, University of Edinburgh. The roof of the mouth and the teeth were thoroughly and uniformly coated with a marking medium (finely powdered charcoal and chocolate mixture). The word with the sound to be examined was articulated. Each word was articulated thrice to ensure that the marking medium was wiped off in the area of contact in the mouth. Then the mouth was carefully

1. For details regarding the use of direct palatography, see Abercrombie (1957), Anthony (1954) and Ladefoged (1957).

opened into a mirror and the reflection of the mouth was photographed. The direct method of palatography was chosen instead of the indirect method using an artificial palate² because

- (a) It is possible to examine and study velar articulations using this method (Though see below, 8.2.6).
- (b) It is very simple compared with the indirect method.
- (c) The time involved in taking photographs of various articulations using the direct method is very little.
- (d) The articulation of the sound to be examined is more natural this way than with indirect palatography, for however thin the artificial palate may be, the presence of an alien object in the mouth may change the shape of the vocal cavities and affect normal articulation.

8.2.2 All the palatograms³ taken were word-palatograms.⁴

2. See Firth (1948b).

3. For taking palatograms, kymograms and spectrograms, several words were chosen from the various examples cited in the body of the thesis. Apart from these, a few other words were chosen as well.

4. See Firth (1948b, p.150).

In other words, meaningful words with the sound to be examined in them were chosen instead of taking palatograms of isolated segments. This was because a native speaker is bound to pronounce a meaningful word more naturally than an isolated segment. While choosing words for palatographic study, care was taken to see that each word chosen had only one segment in it which was capable of producing a wipe-off. This is because the writer wanted to make sure that the wipe-off in a palatogram was caused only by that sound which was being investigated.⁵

Before taking each palatogram the mouth was rinsed thoroughly with water to see that the marking medium from the previous coating was completely removed from the mouth.

8.2.3 The palatograms taken were all divided^d into various zones following Firth (1948b). A photograph of the roof of the mouth without any coating is reproduced below. It has been divided into various zones and the zones are explained below:

5. See Firth (1948, pp.150 - 51).



Fgm. I Plain palate
without coating.

8.2.4 On the photograph of the plain palate reproduced above, horizontal and vertical lines are drawn. The horizontal lines are named a - g and the vertical lines L , M and R . The zones are numbered from 1 - 8. The zones and the lines are described in the next page.

The Palatogram Figure

<u>The horizontal lines</u>	<u>The zones</u>
a) Incisor line	1. Dental
b) Lateral incisor line	2. Denti-alveolar
c) Canine line	3. Alveolar
d) First molar line	4. Post-alveolar
e) Second molar line	5. Pre-palatal
f) Third molar line	6. Palatal
g) Fourth molar line	7. Post-palatal
	8. Velar
<u>The vertical lines</u>	<u>M</u>

1. M = Median line
2. L = Left line
3. R = Right line

Discussion of Palatograms

8.2.5 The articulatory descriptions given in chapter 1 (See 1.14.5-1.14.13, 1.15.3-1.15.4, 1.16.4-1.16.10, 1.17.3-1.17.4, 1.18.3-1.18.4, 1.19.2, 1.20.2-1.20.6) depending upon the writer's proprioception were checked with the aid of palatography. Some of the palatograms are reproduced in the next few pages. It should be stated here that several palatograms were taken of each of the segments to be investigated, they were studied carefully and only a selected few are reproduced here.

Scope of Palatographic Study

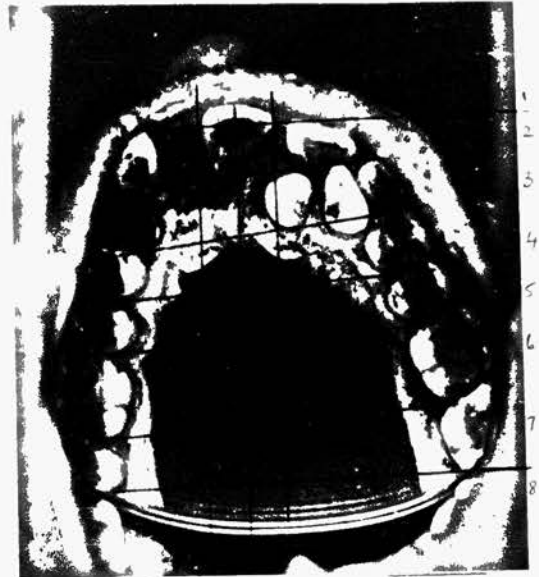
8.2.6 In this palatographic study, labial and velar articulations have not been included, the former because they do not produce any wipe-off in the roof of the mouth and the latter because the writer could not open his mouth deep enough into the mirror to photograph the velar wipe-off. All attempts to do so were in vain since the writer felt gagged.

Writer's Palate

8.2.7 Before saying anything in detail about the palatograms themselves, something in general must be said about the writer's palate. The dentition is strikingly irregular and there is a remarkable gap between the frontal incisor and the lateral incisor teeth on the (photographic) right. It can also be noted that the frontal incisor is missing on the (photographic) left. It is therefore quite difficult to ascertain the interstices between the front and lateral incisors to draw the vertical lines (See Firth, 1948b).



Pgm. 2 tampi [tʰambi] 'younger brother'



Pgm. 3 orRe [oɾːɛ] 'page'



Pgm. 4 rayim [tʰajim] 'time'



Pgm. 5 paṭṭi [pʰʌːi] 'stripe'

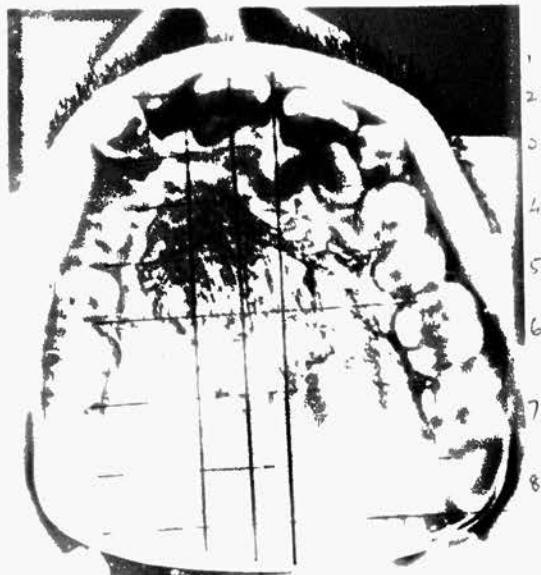


Fig. 6 puu[tu [pu:zu] 'look'.



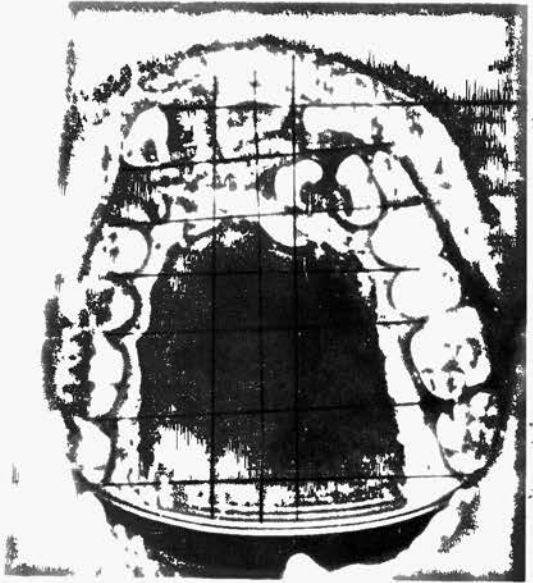
Fig. 7 [oop [do:p] 'wig'



Fig. 8 picce [pit:ʃe] 'alms'



Fig. 9 epoin [ɛndʒin] 'engine'



Pgm. IO peen [pe:n] 'louse'



Pgm. II noo [no:] 'pain'



Pgm. I2 manam [manəm] 'mind'



Pgm. I3 mannippu [man:ipau]
'forgiveness'



Pgm. 14 pantu [pʰandʷ] 'ball'



Pgm. 15 maŋi [mʰŋɿ] 'bell'



Pgm. 16 eŋɿm [eŋːɿm] 'idea'



Pgm. 17 peeŋ [pʰeːŋ]
'well sweep prop'



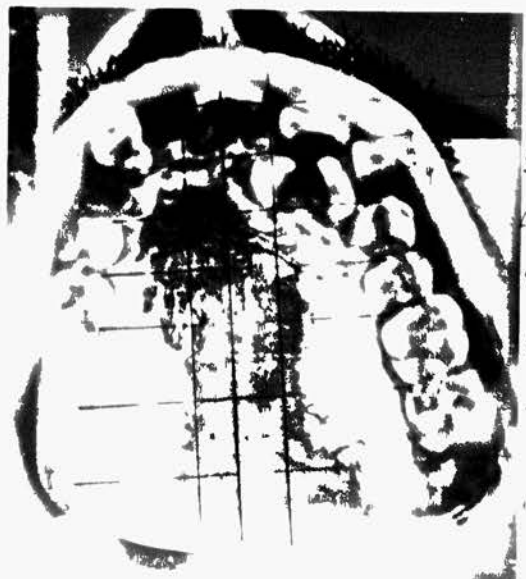
Pgm. 18 an[aa [aŋda:] 'cauldron'



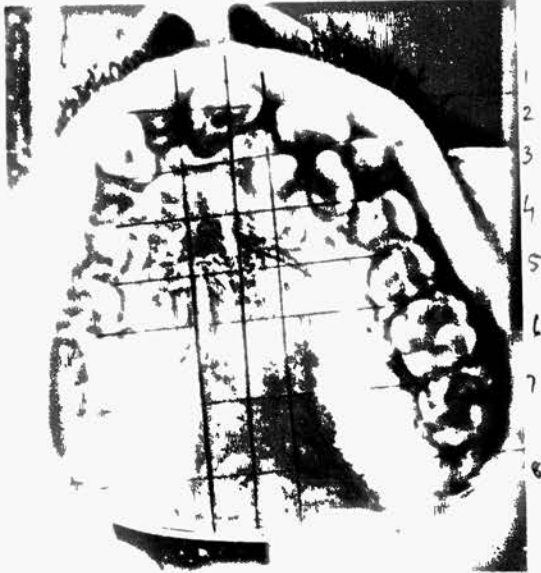
Pgm. 19 pali [pʰali]
'animal sacrifice'



Pgm. 20 palli [pʰal:i] 'lizard'



Pgm. 21 ve[i [ʊe|i] 'outside'



Pgm. 22 ve[[i [ʊe[:i] 'silver'



Pgm. 23 pa[e [pʰrɛ]
'offering to god'



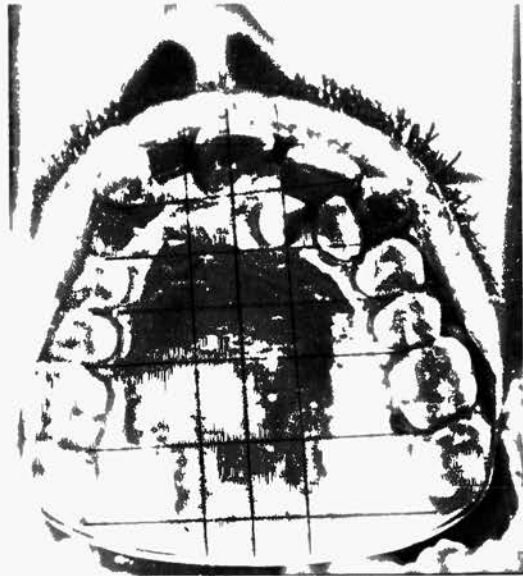
Pgm. 24 pa[i [pʰɪ] 'step'



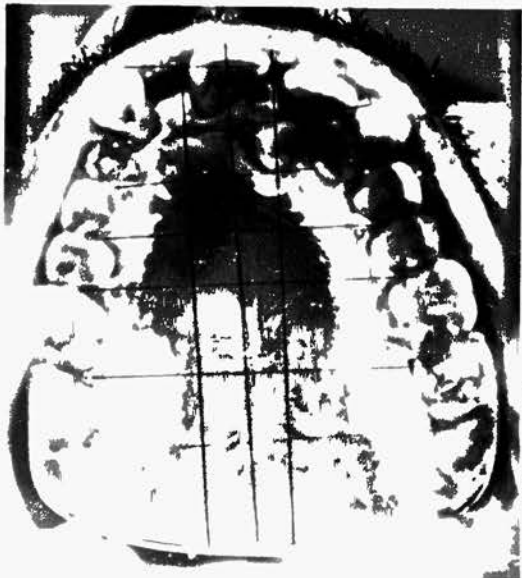
Pgm. 25 meeri [me:fi]
'proper noun(fem.)'



Pgm. 26 Riil [ri:l] 'reel'



Pgm. 27 paati [pā:ði] 'half'



Pgm. 28 paci [pāsi] 'hunger'



Pgm. 29 cume [sumē] 'weight'



Pgm. 30 kucui [tʰi] 'jollity'

Palatogram illustrating dental plosive articulation

8.2.8 Palatogram 2 is of the nominal tampi [tʰambi] 'younger brother'. In this nominal, the only segment capable of producing a central wipe-off in the roof of the mouth is the consonant [t]. The other consonants [m] and [b], being bilabial ones, cannot produce any wipe-off. The front vowel [i], as can be seen from the palatogram (Pgm. 2) above, (See page 599), can produce a lateral wipe-off but this does not in any way interfere with the present interpretation of the wipe-off caused by the tip of the tongue in articulating the consonant [t]. There is a

wipe-off in the dental zone and the alveolar zone. Zone 2 (the denti-alveolar zone) seems to be untouched by the tongue during the articulation of the word. The writer, while articulating this nominal and nominals with [t] in them, can feel that the contact of the tongue extends from the front upper teeth to the alveolar ridge. The marking medium has not been removed from zone 2 because of the gap between the upper teeth.

Palatograms illustrating alveolar plosive articulations

8.2.9 Compare palatogram 2 with palatograms 3 and 4, which illustrate alveolar articulations. A native nominal and a marginal nominal were chosen for this illustration. In both the palatograms there is no wipe-off in zones 1 and 2, suggesting thereby that during the articulation of [t] the dental and denti-alveolar zones are left untouched by the tongue. True, there is a wipe-off in zone 4 (post-alveolar zone) as well. Most of this wipe-off, the writer feels, is effected by the sides of the tongue during the articulation of the front vowels [i], [ɛ] and [i] respectively. The wipe-off in palatogram 3 is slightly wider than in palatogram 4. This is because the nominal orRe [ot:ɛ] 'page' has a "double stop" - a long, tense stop. The duration of the closure phase of the stop is more in pronouncing

oRRe [ot̪:ɛ] 'page' than in pronouncing the English loanword rayim [t̪ʌjim] 'time' and hence the wider wipe-off in palatogram 3.

Palatograms illustrating retroflex plosive articulations

8.2.10 Palatograms 5 and 6 are of the nominals paṭṭi [pʌṭ̪:i] 'stripe' and puuṭṭu [pu:ṭ̪:u] 'lock' respectively, taken to investigate the retroflex plosive sound [ṭ̪]. As in all other nominals chosen for palatographic study, in these nominals too, only the segment that is being investigated can effect a wipe-off. In both the palatograms there is a clear wipe-off of the marking medium in zones 5 and 6. It can also be seen that there is more of a wipe-off in zone 6 than in zone 5 (particularly in palatogram 6). It can therefore be said that in articulating the retroflex plosive, the tip of the tongue that is curled back makes a firm contact with the back of the pre-palatal zone and the palatal zone. The two nominals paṭṭi [pʌṭ̪:i] and puuṭṭu [pu:ṭ̪:u] were specially chosen because in one nominal the retroflex plosive is followed by a front vowel and in the other nominal by a back vowel. The writer wanted to check whether the vowel that immediately follows a plosive consonant has any influence on its articulation. In other words, the writer wanted to observe if the [ṭ̪] in paṭṭi [pʌṭ̪:i] has a fronter

articulation in the mouth than the [ɿ] in puuɿu [pu:ɿ:u]. The two palatograms (5 and 6) show that in both cases the wipe-off extends fully up to the end of zone 6 - the palatal zone. But in the case of palatogram 5 there is more of a wipe-off in zone 5 than in palatogram 6. This phenomenon is attributed to the following front vowel. In palatogram 6 of the word puuɿu [pu:ɿ:u] the wipe-off in the pre-palatal zone (zone 5) is markedly less because since the following vowel is a back vowel the tongue, after making contact for [ɿ] has retracted back towards the velum. It will be clear that such findings as these have relevance to the statement of phonological structure of words. In such examples as the ones cited here, the presence of features of frontness or backness in two or more consecutive segments points to the appropriateness of setting up of such prosodies as Y and W (See 3.5.2).

8.2.11 Palatogram 7 is of the nominal ɿoop [ɿo:p] 'wig'. It illustrates the articulation of the retroflex consonant [ɿ]. In this palatogram, one could see a wipe-off in zone 6 - the palatal zone, while the marking medium in the other zones has been left untouched by the tongue. It can therefore be concluded that during the articulation of [ɿ] the tip of the tongue which is curled (the curling of the tip of the tongue is felt by the writer

while articulating this consonant) makes contact with the hard palate.

Palatograms illustrating affricate articulations

8.2.12 Palatogram 8 and palatogram 9 illustrate the affricate articulation. Palatogram 8 is of the nominal picce [pit:ʃɛ] 'alms'. It can be seen that there is a very clear wipe-off in zone 4 - the post-alveolar zone. During the stop phase of the affricate, therefore, the tongue has made a firm contact with the post-alveolar region. The area of contact is further backward than for the alveolar stop [t] (Compare palatogram 8 with palatograms 3 and 4).

8.2.13 Palatogram 9 is of the English loanword ɛŋcin [ɛŋdʒin] 'engine' and it illustrates the articulation of the consonant cluster [ŋdʒ]. The wipe-off here is effected by the nasal + affricate cluster. In this palatogram a clear wipe-off extending from the rear part of zone 3 till the end of zone 4 can be seen. For the nasal + stop phase of the voiced affricate [dʒ] the tip and blade of the tongue therefore make contact with the post-alveolar region of the palate.

Palatograms illustrating alveolar nasal articulations

8.2.14 Palatograms 10 - 13 illustrate the alveolar nasal articulations. Three nominals were chosen with the

nasal consonant in absolute initial, absolute final and intervocalic positions. A fourth nominal was chosen with a double nasal in intervocalic position. The results are interesting.

8.2.1 In palatograms 10. peen [pe:n] 'louse' and 11. noo [nõ:] 'pain' which are of nominals with a final and initial [n] respectively, there is a clear wipe-off in zones 3 and 4, the alveolar and post-alveolar regions. It can be seen also that there is more wipe-off in zone 3 than in zone 4. The extension of the wipe-off into zone 4, it is felt, is because of the presence of extra teeth adjacent to the canine tooth on the photographic right. These extra teeth, it is suggested, block the tongue resting on the alveolar region and that part of the tongue therefore makes contact in the post-alveolar region, immediately behind the extra teeth.

8.2.16 Palatograms 12 and 13 are of nominals with intervocalic nasals, a single nasal [n] in the case of palatogram 12 and a double nasal [n:] - two identical nasals one after the other - in the case of palatogram 13. In palatogram 12 of the nominal manam [mãñõm] 'mind', there is a single intervocalic [n] whereas in palatogram 13 of the nominal māñippu [mãñ:ip:m] 'forgiveness' there is a double nasal [n:] in intervocalic position. In both

the palatograms one can see a wipe-off in zone 3 and 4 - the alveolar and post-alveolar regions - but the significant thing is that the wipe-off is very light in palatogram 12 when compared with that of palatogram 13. In palatogram 12 there is a mere suggestion of a wipe-off in the photographic left and in fact some of the marking medium there is left intact. Comparing this (Pgm.12) with palatogram 13 one finds that in palatogram 13 there is a clearer, more marked wipe-off. The reason is not far to seek. In the dialect of Tamil under survey (as in fact most other dialects of the language) doubling or "lengthening" of intervocalic laterals and nasals is distinctive. There are minimal pairs contrasting [n] and [n:] (Compare kanam [kʌnɔ̃m] 'that which is heavy' with kannam [kʌn:ɔ̃m] 'cheek'). To make this distinction, Tamil speakers pronounce words with a double [n:] very distinctly and clearly. This means that during the articulation of [n:] and other such double nasals and laterals the tongue touches the area of contact more firmly and for a longer duration than during the articulation of single nasals and laterals.

8.2.17 Another interesting feature that can be seen from these four palatograms is that in all the four palatograms the articulation is clearly alveolar. There is not even a suggestion of a wipe-off in the dental or denti-alveolar zones. The writer makes this point because the

traditionalists mention that word-initial [n] is dental. This is because there are two orthographic symbols in Tamil to represent [n]. In the orthography, one of the symbols ன is placed immediately after the symbol representing [t] and the other symbol ன் is placed after the symbol representing [t̪]. Of the two symbols, one - that which is placed after the symbol for [t] - occurs only initially and before [t] in the ORTHOGRAPHY. The other - that which is placed after the symbol for [t̪] never occurs initially or before [t̪] in the ORTHOGRAPHY. These two symbols are in complementary distribution in the orthographic representation of words. In speech, however, [n] occurs initially, intervocalically and finally and [n̪] only in the combination [nd̪]. That is, though initial [n] is represented in the orthography by the same symbol that represents the [n̪] in [nd̪] combination, in speech it is always [n̪] and never [n].

Palatogram illustrating dental nasal articulation
in the consonant cluster [nd̪]

8.2.18 Palatogram 14 of the nominal pantu [pand̪m] 'ball' illustrates the dental articulation of [n̪] in the cluster [nd̪]. There is a clear wipe-off in the dental and denti-alveolar zones.

Palatograms illustrating retroflex nasal articulations

8.2.19 Palatograms 15 - 17 are of nominals maṇi [mãṇĩ] 'bell', eṇṇam [eṇ:ãṁ] 'thought' and peenṇ [pe:ṇ] 'well sweep prop' respectively. These were taken to investigate the point of articulation of the retroflex nasal [ṇ]. In palatograms 16 and 17 there is a clear wipe-off in zone 6 (the palatal zone) indicating that the tip of the tongue that is curled back makes a firm contact with the palatal region during the articulation of [ṇ]. There is a clear difference between the wipe-off in palatogram 15 and 16 or 17. The wipe-off in palatogram 15 is in the palatal zone but it reaches up to zone 5 - the pre-palatal zone. Another noticeable difference is that in palatogram 15 there are traces of the marking medium in the wipe-off area suggesting that the contact of the tongue in the area of contact was not quite firm. Both these can be explained. Palatogram 15 is of a nominal with an intervocalic single [n] whereas palatogram 16 is that of a nominal with a double or "long" [ṇ:] in the intervocalic position. As pointed out earlier (See 8.2.16) while discussing the articulation of [n] and [n:] above, single and double [ṇ] and [ṇ:] contrast with each other in sub-minimal pairs (e.g. vaṇṇam [ʋa:ṇãṁ] 'fire-works' and vannam [ʋ^ṇ:ãṁ] 'colour').. Intervocalic single [ṇ] is of a very short duration and in articulating it the tip of the tongue that is curled back makes contact with the palatal region.

region and quickly flaps forward. This explains the wipe-off in the pre-palatal zone. While flapping forward quickly after the contact, the tip of the tongue removes some marking medium from the pre-palatal zone.

Palatogram illustrating the articulation
of the consonant cluster [ŋd]

8.2.20 Palatogram 18 which is of the nominal an̩taa [ʌŋda:] 'cauldron' illustrates the articulation of the consonant cluster [ŋd]. As in palatogram 16 and 17, there is a wipe-off in the palatal region in palatogram 18 as well, suggesting that during the articulation of the cluster [ŋd] the tip of the tongue that is curled back touches the palatal region. There are some traces of a wipe-off in zone 5 - the pre-palatal zone as well.

Palatograms illustrating alveolar
lateral articulations

8.2.21 Palatogram 19. pali [pʌli] 'animal sacrifice' and palatogram 20. palli [pʌl:i] 'lizard' illustrate alveolar lateral articulations. In both palatograms there is a wipe-off in zone 3 (alveolar zone) extending up to a part of zone 4 (post-alveolar zone). But the interesting point is that whereas in palatogram 20 the wipe-off is wider and clearer, that in palatogram 19 is thinner and less clear. The difference results from the fact that in palatogram 19 the nominal has a single [l] whereas in palatogram 20 the

the nominal has a double [l:] (See explanation in 8.2.16 - articulation of [n] and [n:]).

Palatograms illustrating retroflex
lateral articulations

8.2.22 Palatograms 21 and 22 are those of nominals velⁱ [veⁱl] 'outside' and velⁱ [veⁱl:] 'silver' respectively. In palatogram 22 there is a very clear wipe-off in zone 6 and there is some wipe-off in the rear zone 5. This suggests that during the articulation of [l:] the tip of the tongue that is curled back makes contact between the pre-palatal and palatal zones. In palatogram 21 there is a suggestion of a wipe-off in zones 5 and 6. But the marking medium has not been removed completely from these zones as in palatogram 22. This again is due to the distinctive nature of single and double [l] and [l:] (See 1.22.4, 8.2.16 and 8.2.21). In articulating the intervocalic single [l] the tip of the tongue makes a slight contact with the pre-palatal and palatal regions and quickly flaps forward whereas while articulating intervocalic [l:] there is a firmer contact of a long duration.

Palatograms illustrating retroflex
non-lateral flap articulations

8.2.23 Palatograms 23 and 24 illustrate the retroflex non-lateral flap articulations. In the dialect of Tamil of Tamil under survey intervocalic orthographic single ṭ is a voiced flap [ɭ] . In palatogram 24 of the nominal paṭi [pʌɭi]

'step' there is an incomplete wipe-off in the pre-palatal and in the beginning of the palatal regions. There is no complete wipe-off as during the articulation of double [t:] (See palatograms 5 and 6). The tip of the tongue seems to make a light contact with the pre-palatal and palatal regions and then quickly flaps forward. Palatogram 23 of the nominal paṭe [pʌt̪e] 'offering to god' is more interesting because the contact of the tongue in the pre-palatal region is lighter than suggested by palatogram 24. In both palatograms, the marking medium in the upper zones seems to have been disturbed by the tongue. This is easily explained. The tip of the tongue, while flapping forward, takes away some of the marking medium from the upper zones.

Palatograms illustrating
alveolar flap / trill articulations

8.2.24 Palatograms 25 and 26 are of the nominals meeri [me:ɾi] 'proper name (fem.)' and Riil [ri:l] 'reel' respectively. Palatogram 26 illustrates the articulation of the alveolar trill [r]. On comparison of these two palatograms one finds an interesting phenomenon. In palatogram 25 there is a suggestion of a tiny wipe-off in the junction between the alveolar and the post-alveolar zones. When the tongue is flapped forward quickly after the tip makes one single tap on the alveolar ridge, a bit of the marking medium is removed. In palatogram 26 one sees a bigger and clearer

wipe-off in the same region as in the previous palatogram (Pgm.25). This is because the tip of the tongue is made to tap the alveolar ridge a number of times and each time it seems to have removed some marking medium with the result that there is a clearer wipe-off.

Palatogram illustrating dental fricative
articulation

8.2.25 Palatogram 27 is of the nominal paati [pa:ð̣i] 'half'. This palatogram illustrates the articulation of the dental fricative [ð̣]. True, there is a lateral wipe-off extending from the pre-palatal zone to the velar zone and this is attributed to the front vowel [i]. Apart from this, there is no wipe-off. The edges of the three front teeth are white suggesting that the tip and blade of the tongue have removed some marking medium from here (from the edge of the teeth) when [ð̣] is articulated.

Palatograms illustrating alveolar
fricative articulations

8.2.26 Palatograms 28 and 29 illustrate the articulation of the alveolar fricative [s]. They are of the nominals paci [pasi] 'hunger' and cume [sumẽ] 'weight' respectively. In both the palatograms, one sees a lateral wipe-off extending up to zone 4 - the post-alveolar zone. The marking medium in the middle of the palate is left completely untouched by the tongue. The sides of the tongue seem to

have removed some marking medium from the sides of the palate. One can conclude from this that during the articulation of this fricative, the tongue does not come into contact with the roof of the mouth. In both the palatograms, one sees that in zone 3 - the alveolar zone, the marking medium appears dull. One can infer from this that when the air escapes through the narrow space between the tip/ blade of the tongue and the alveolar ridge some marking medium has been removed by the air.

Palatogram illustrating palato-alveolar
articulation

8.2.27 Palatogram 30 is of the nominal kuci [kuʃi] 'jollity' illustrating the articulation of the palato-alveolar fricative [ʃ]. In this palatogram, one sees that the sides of the tongue have removed some marking medium from the sides of the roof of the mouth while the middle of the palate is totally free from any wipe-off. If one compares this palatogram with palatograms 28 and 29 (which illustrate the articulation of [s]) one sees that the air channel for [ʃ] is wider than for [s].

8.3

KYMOGRAPHY

Description of the Apparatus Used

8.3.1 In taking all the kymograms that are reproduced in this chapter, the apparatus used was the electro-aerometer (manufactured by B. FRØKJÆR JENSEN, DENMARK).

The apparatus has tiny rubber valves which open and close at the end when air passes through them. There is a facial mask which is conveniently divided into two compartments - the nasal and oral. When the subject places the mask firmly on to his face these compartments fit the nose and the mouth. During speech when air is emitted through the nose, it enters the nasal compartment and the air that is emitted through the mouth enters the oral compartment. This air then enters the valves referred to above. There is an ink jet kymograph which is attached to the aerometer which marks on paper lines depending on the air flow during speech.

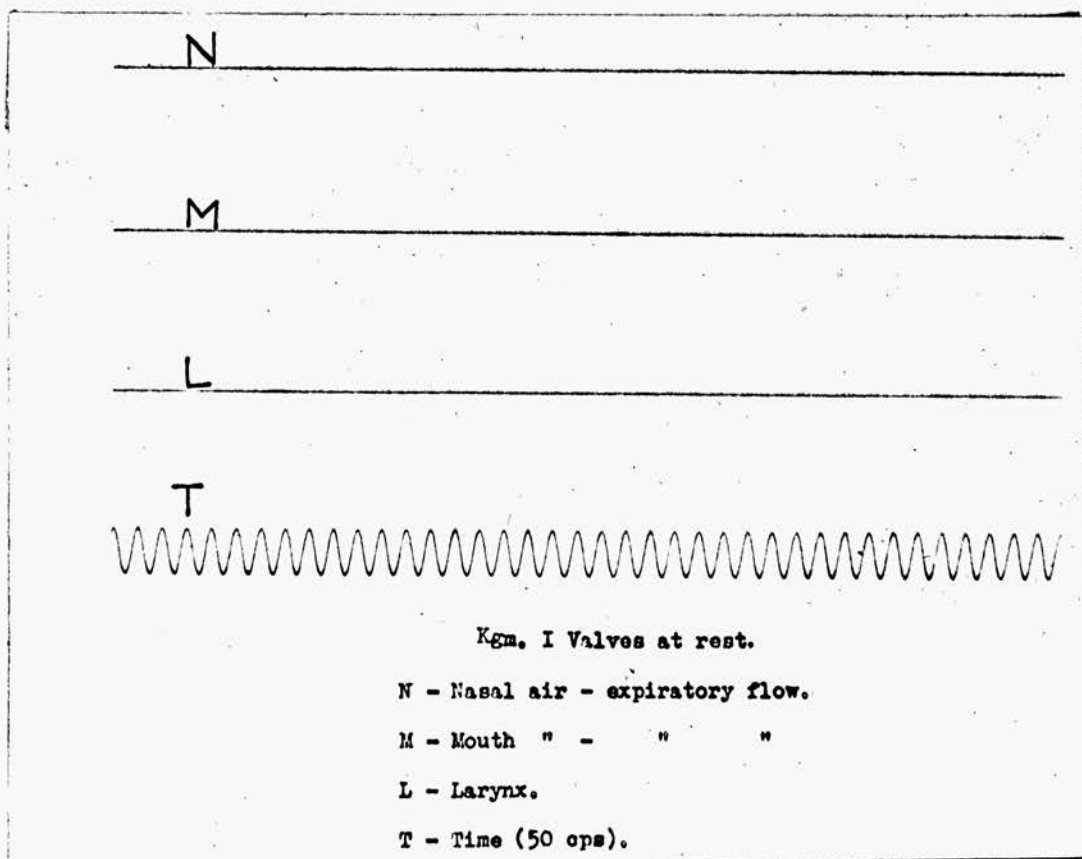
Scope of Kymography

8.3.2 With this aerometer, it is possible to register the air flowing out of the mouth during speech and also the air that rushes into the mouth during speech (i.e., it is possible to verify the speech sounds produced by egressive and ingressive air stream mechanisms). Similarly the nasal expiration and inspiration can be registered too. But during the course of the present research only two of these four channels were used - namely, nasal and oral expirations. This is because, in Tamil, there are no sounds which are produced by any ingressive air-stream mechanism. In addition to registering the air flow as described above, larynx vibrations can also be registered on paper using the aerometer. This is done by wearing a larynx microphone when articulating words into the aerometer. When the vocal

cords are not in vibration, the mingograph draws a straight line on paper and when they are in vibration it registers it on paper by irregular and quick wave forms.

8.3.3 Apart from this, the mingograph registers time also. With the kymograph, therefore, one can investigate nasal sounds and oral sounds, voiced sounds and voiceless sounds and also calculate the duration of certain segments in an utterance.

A kymogram with no utterance registered on it is reproduced below to explain the four markings that come across it.



8.3.4 The top line marked N is the nasal tracing. It records the outward flow of air through the nose in speech. When this is a straight line, one can know that no air has escaped through the nose during an utterance. The second line marked M registers the outward flow of air through the mouth in speech. The third line marked L records the presence or absence of vocal cord vibration. The bottom line (the line with regular wavy marks) marked T indicates time. In all the kymograms reproduced in this thesis, time has been marked at the rate of 50 cycles per second.

8.3.5 With the kymogram, one can easily identify a plosive (as compared with a non-plosive) articulation. If a plosive is articulated, the oral closure is indicated by a straight line on the mouth tracing. The plosion itself is marked by a sharp upward peak on the mouth tracing.

8.3.6 Another important distinction that can be made from a kymographic study is the distinction between the alveolar flap and the alveolar trill articulations. A flap is characterized by a sudden dip on the mouth tracing followed by a rise. This indicates that when the tip of the tongue taps against the alveolar ridge, the air flow is checked, but not to the extent of there being a complete closure in the mouth. A trill articulation will have two or more of these dips followed by rises.

8.3.7 The kymograph can be used to study yet another interesting phenomenon - aspiration or the lack of it of voiceless plosives. Aspiration is a "period of voicelessness that follows the voiceless closure phase of a stop"⁶. If a plosive is aspirated, voicing for the next voiced segment sets in after the plosive is exploded. In the case of an unaspirated voiceless plosive, on the other hand, voicing for the next voiced segment sets in simultaneously with the release of the plosive.

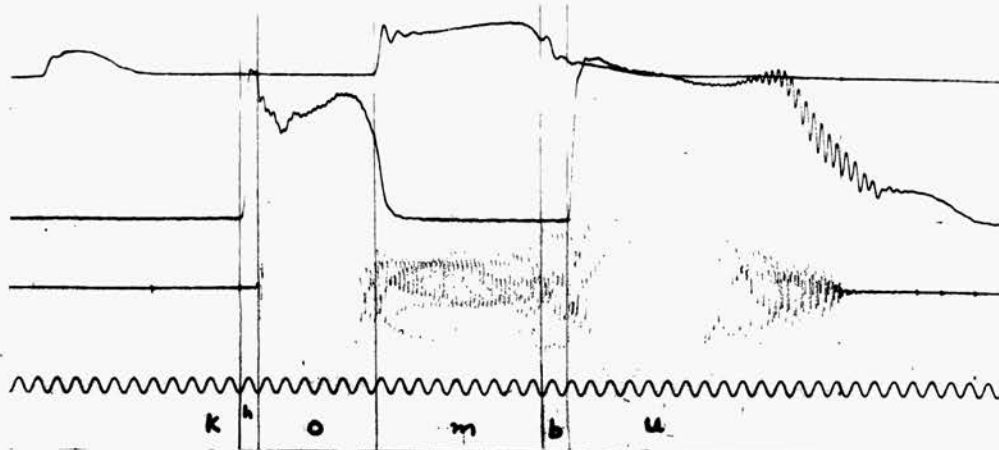
8.3.8 An oral vowel being nasalized under the influence of adjacent nasal consonants can be checked with a kymographic tracing. In Jaffna Tamil, nasalization of vowels is not distinctive (as it is in the case of a few Indian dialects of Tamil) but a feature of the syllable and kymograms were used to study this feature of the syllable.

8.3.9 In Tamil, if a word ends in a vowel and the next word begins with a voiceless plosive, in connected speech, the word initial voiceless plosive of the second word is realized as the corresponding voiced fricative (See 6.8.22, 6.8.24-6.8.32 and 8.3.18-8.3.19). This happens if there is no pause between the two words in connected speech and if the orthography does not double the word-initial plosive symbol of the second word in writing down the two words

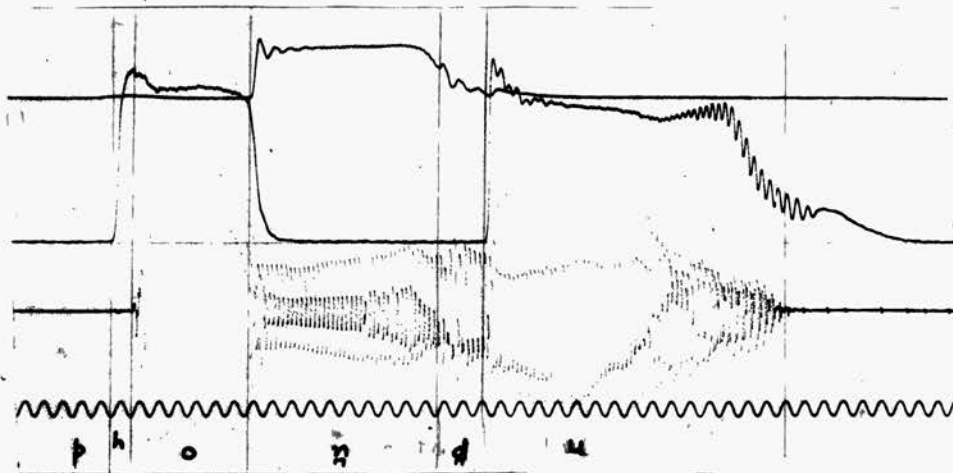
6. See Abercrombie (1967, p.148).

together. For example, nuuRu [nu:ru] 'one hundred' and peeppar [pe:p:əf] 'paper' , in connected speech, is [nu:ruβe:p:əf] 'one hundred sheets of paper'. This phenomenon was checked with the help of kymograms (See kymograms 32 , 34 , 38 and 39).

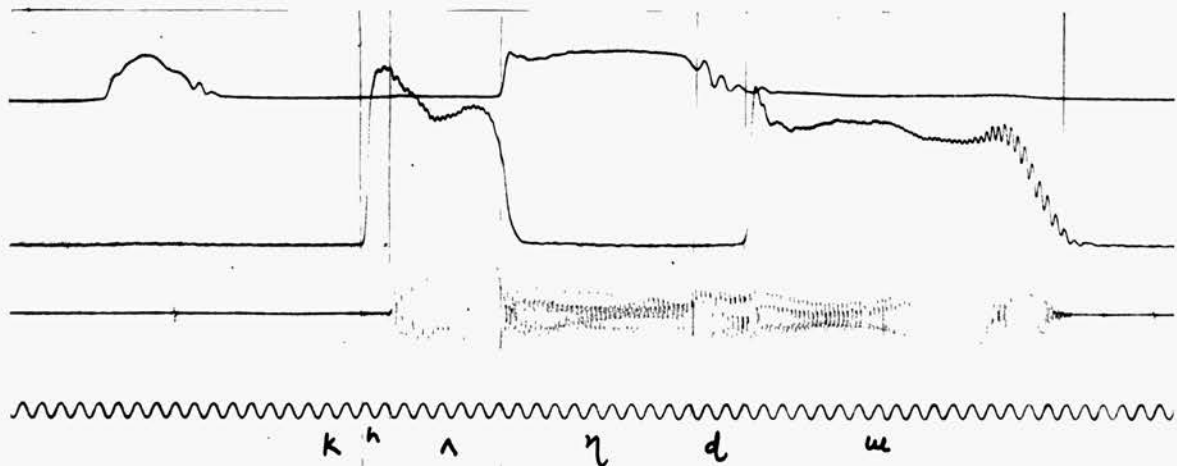
A few of the kymograms taken during the course of the present research are reproduced in the next few pages. To check the validity of statements made in the body of the thesis, several kymograms were taken. Everyone of these was carefully studied and only a selected few are reproduced here. Most of the kymograms reproduced in the next few pages are segmented. All the kymograms carry a phonetic transcription.



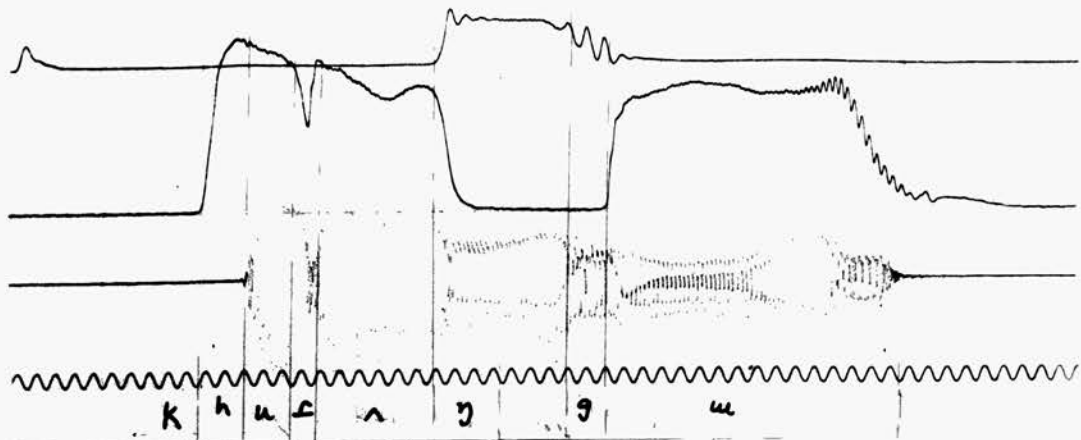
Kgm. 2 komu [k^hom^bu] 'horn'



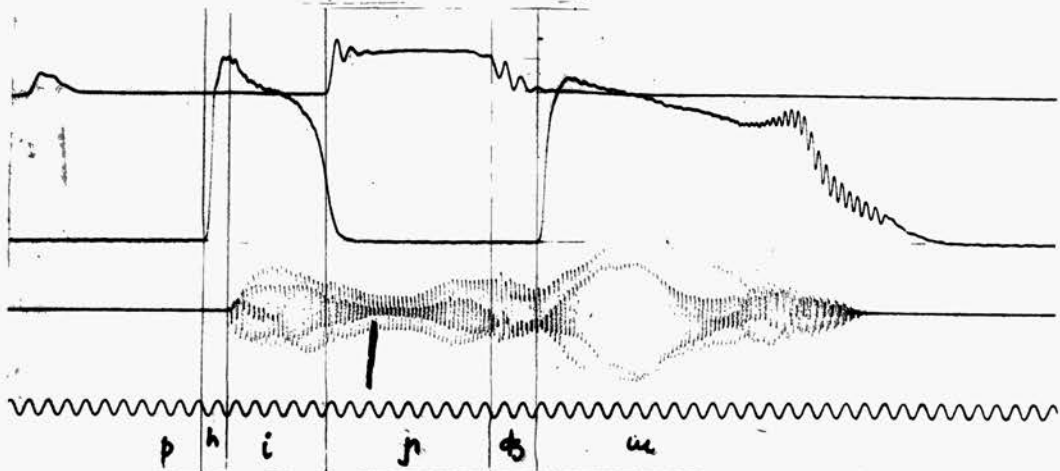
Kgm. 3 pohu [p^ho_hη_hd_hu] 'hole'



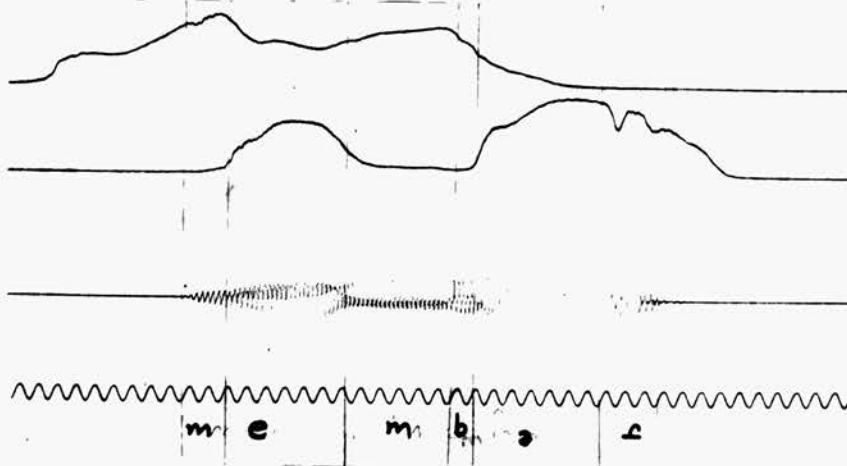
Kgm. 4 kaŋu [k^haŋ^ʌd^ŋu] 'young plant'



Kga. 5 khuŋgɔ [khuŋgɔ] 'monkey'



Kga. 6 pʰiɲɔ [pʰiɲɔ] 'tender fruit'



Kga. 7 mɛmbɛ [mɛmbɛ] 'member'

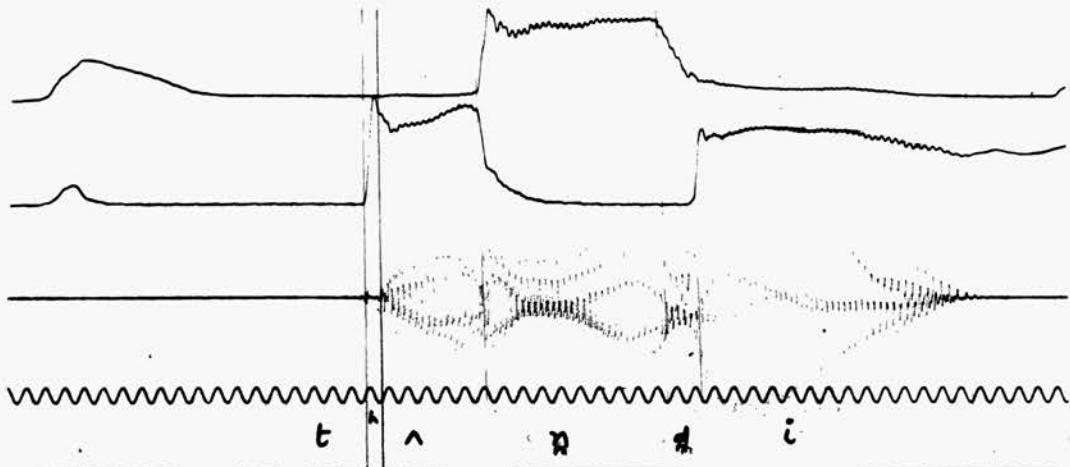


Fig. 6 *taḡti* [tʰaḡdi] 'telegram'

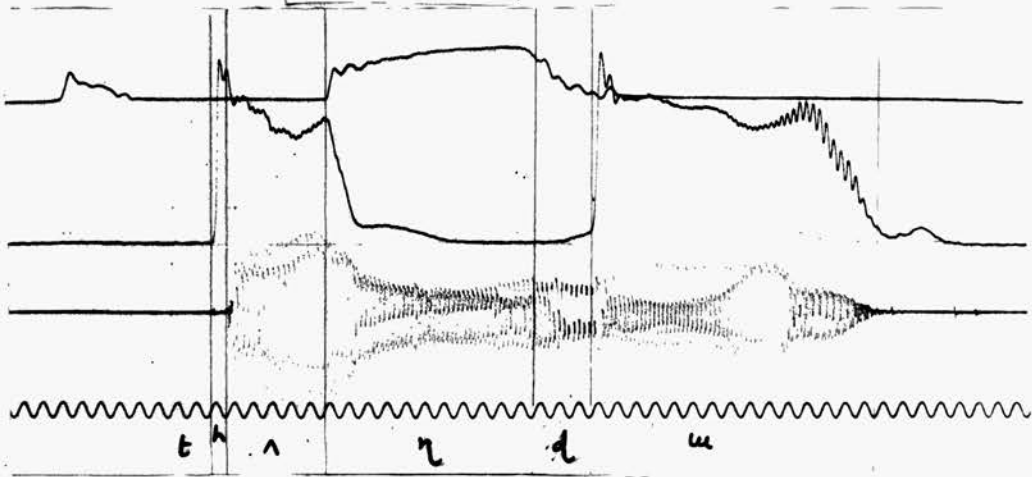


Fig. 9 *taḡu* [tʰaḡdu] 'atom'

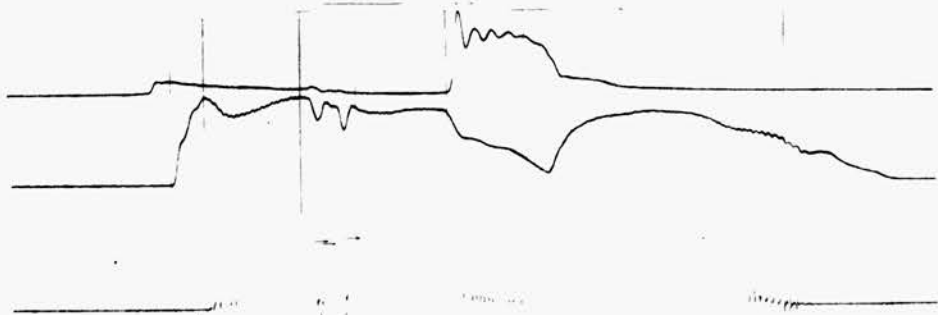


Fig. 10 *paḡaḡi* [pʰaḡaḡi] 'a Burgher'

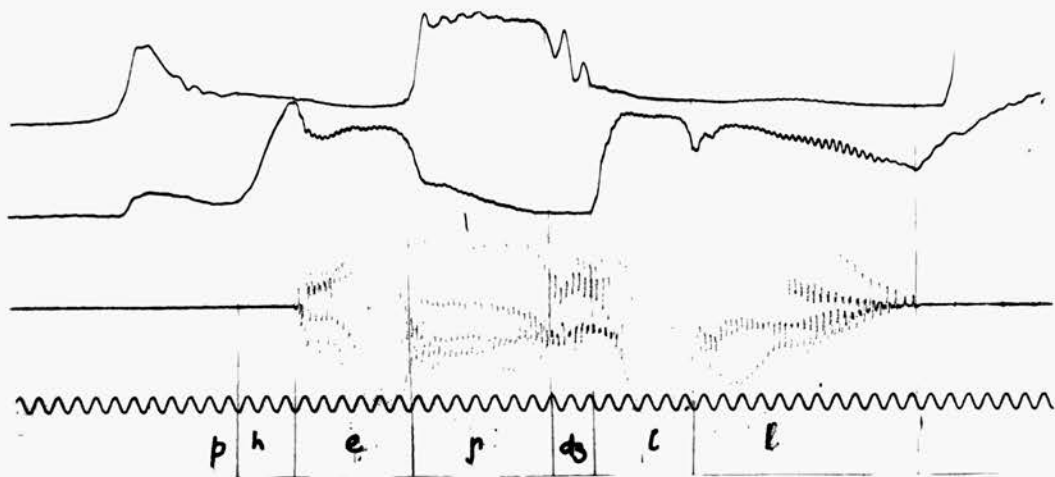


Fig. 11 penoil [pənoil] 'penoil'

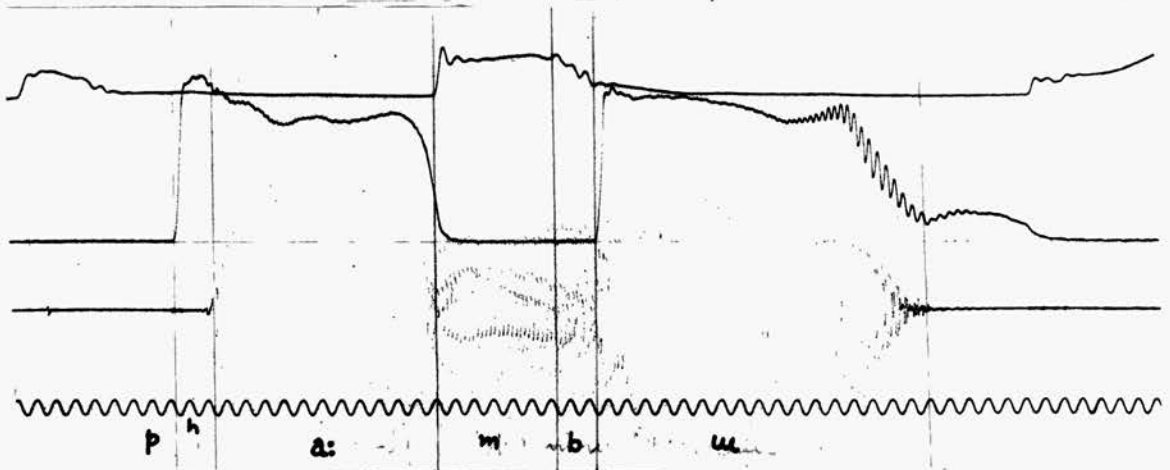


Fig. 12 paamu [mæke] 'make'

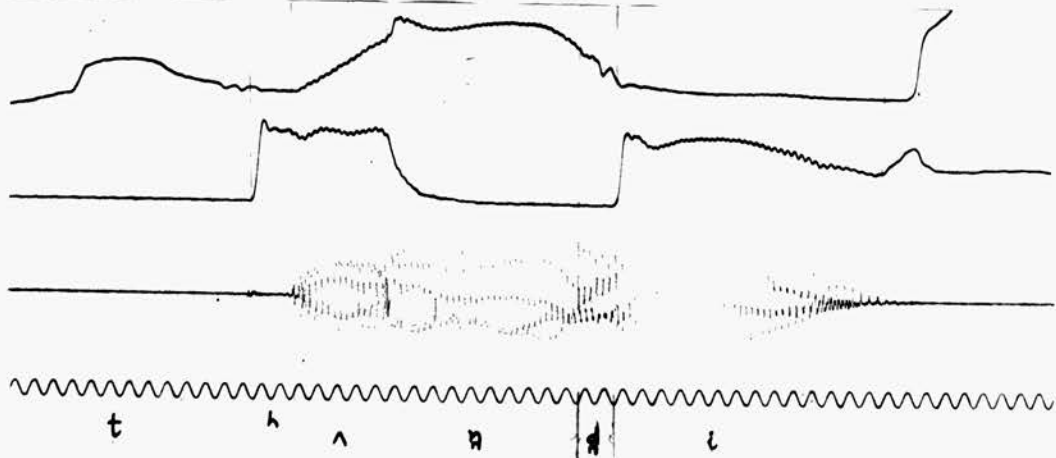


Fig. 13 tɛlɪ [tɛlɪɡræm] 'telegram'

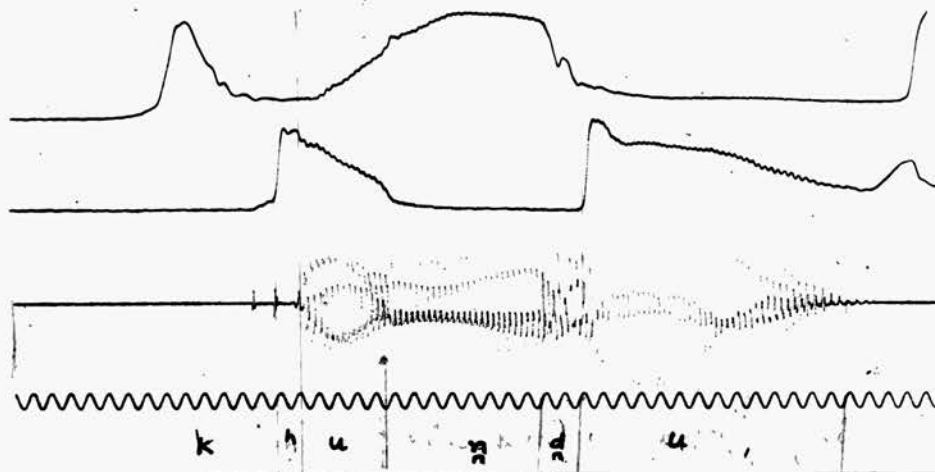


Fig. 14 *kuḡtu* [dʊə] 'doorstep'

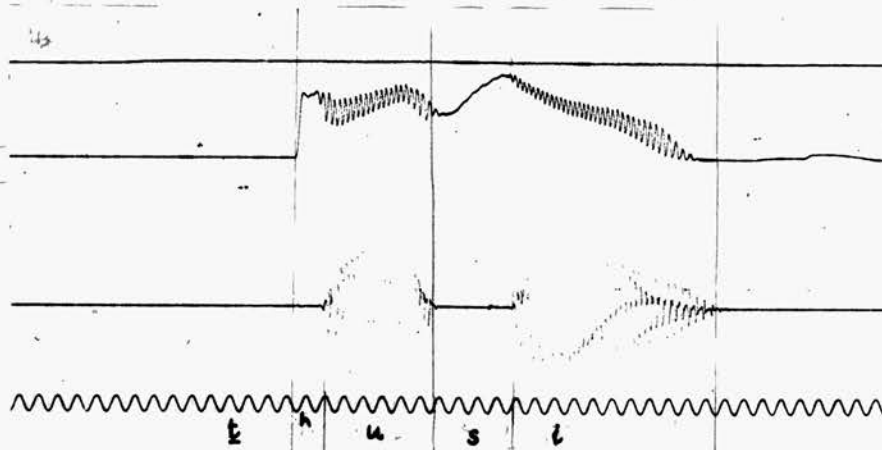


Fig. 15 *rust* [tast] 'taste'

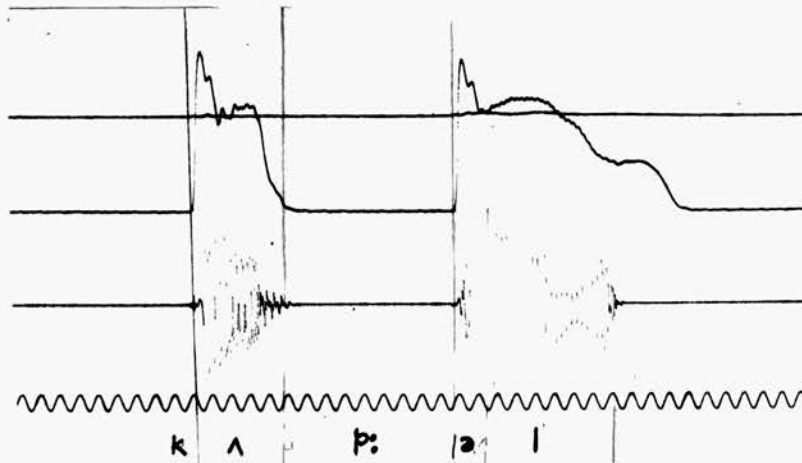
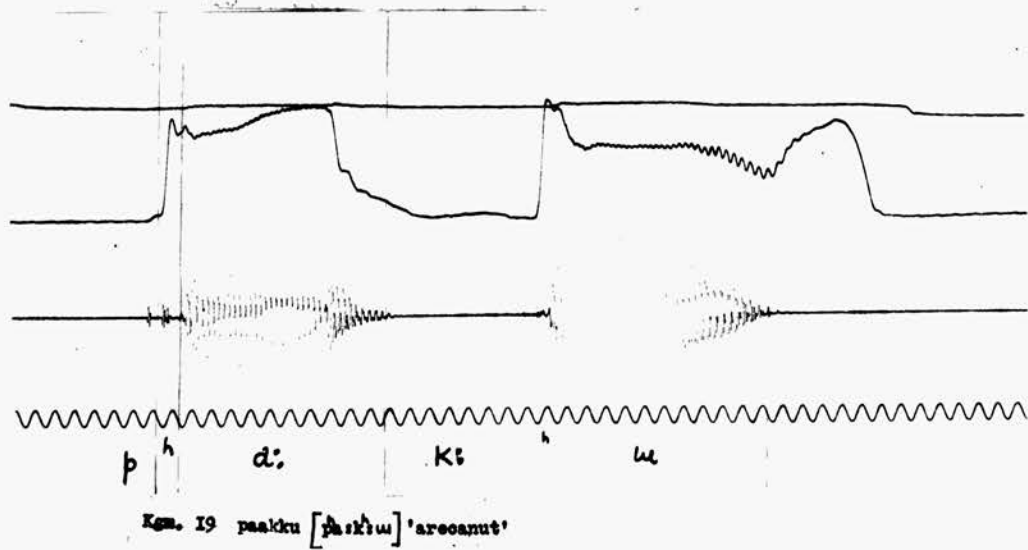
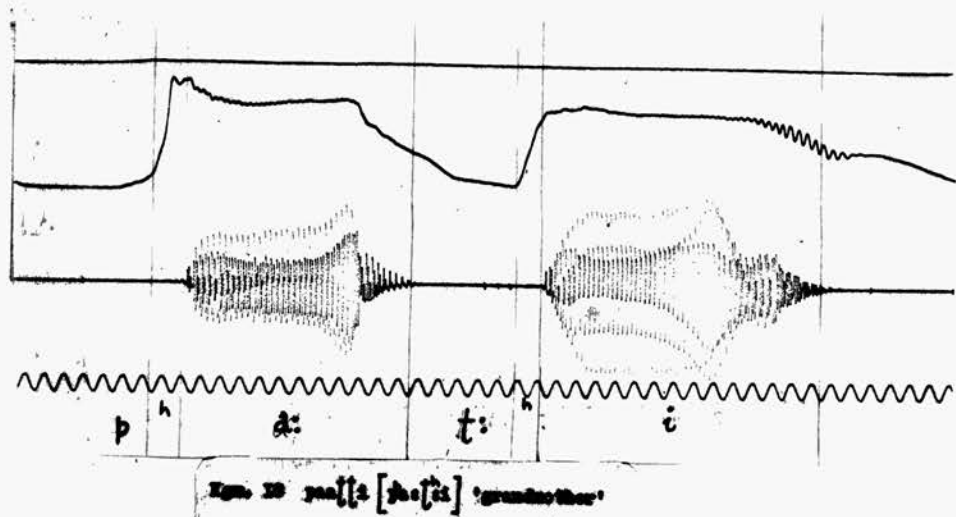
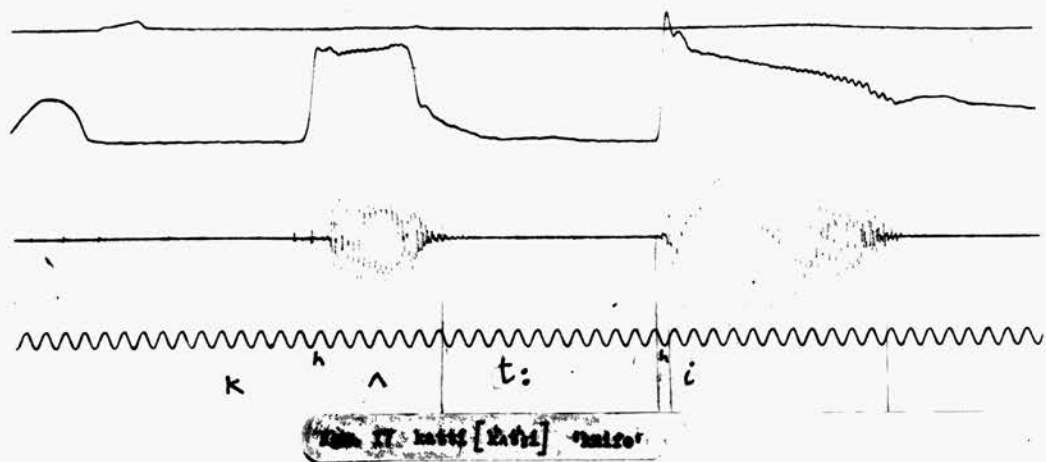
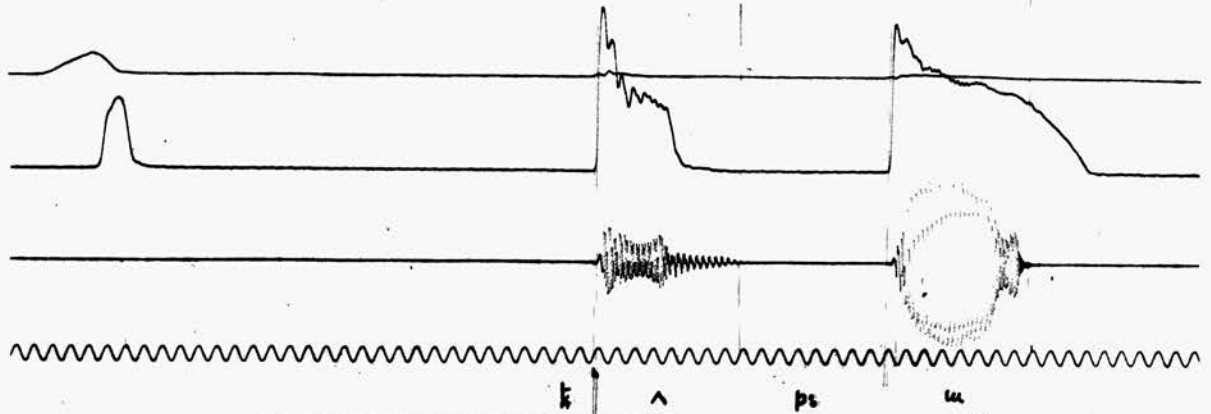
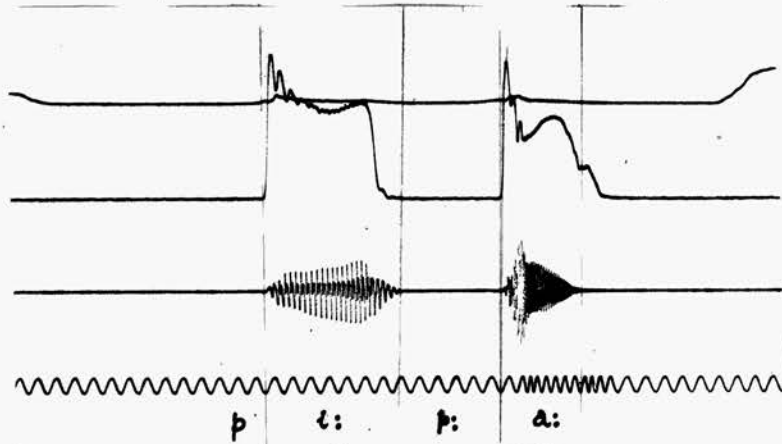


Fig. 16 *kaypal* [kəpəl] 'ship'

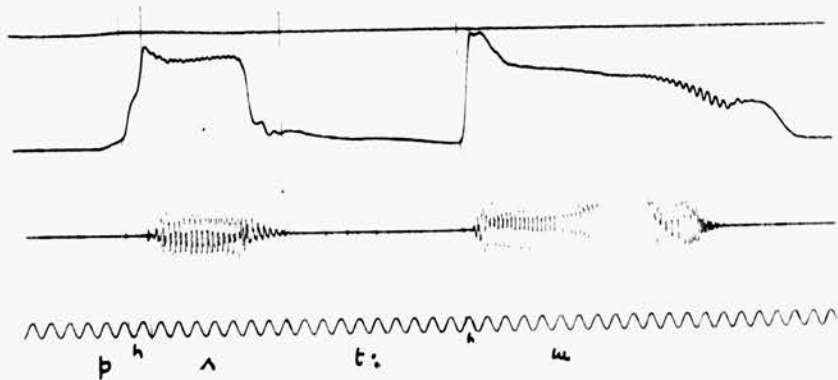




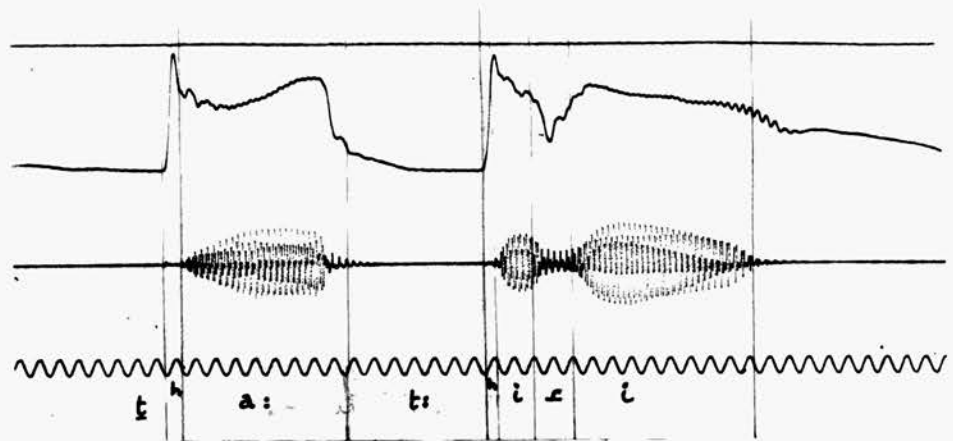
Kgm. 20 tappa [təpəu] 'mistake'



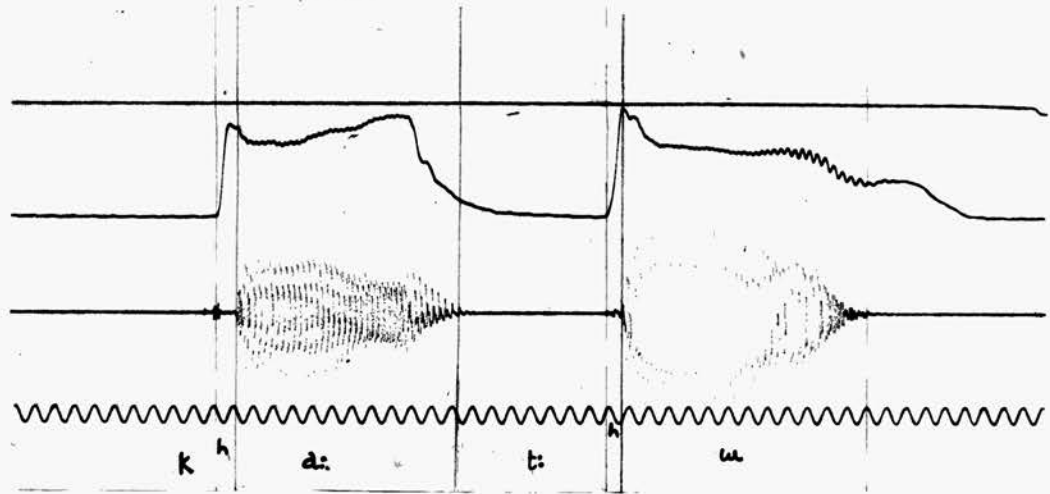
Kgm. 21 piippaa [pɪrɪəl] 'barrel'



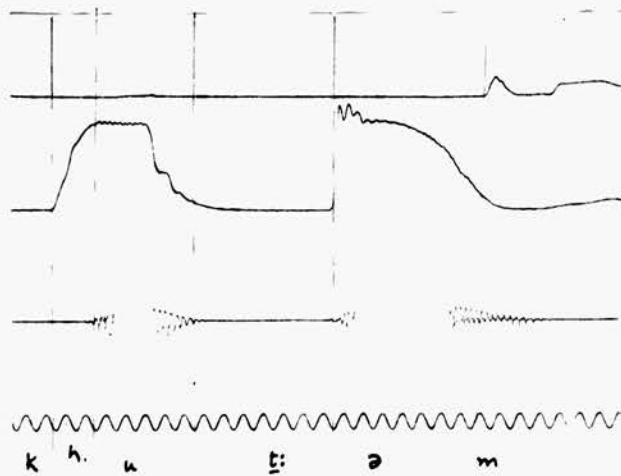
Kgm. 22 pattu [tɛn] 'ten'



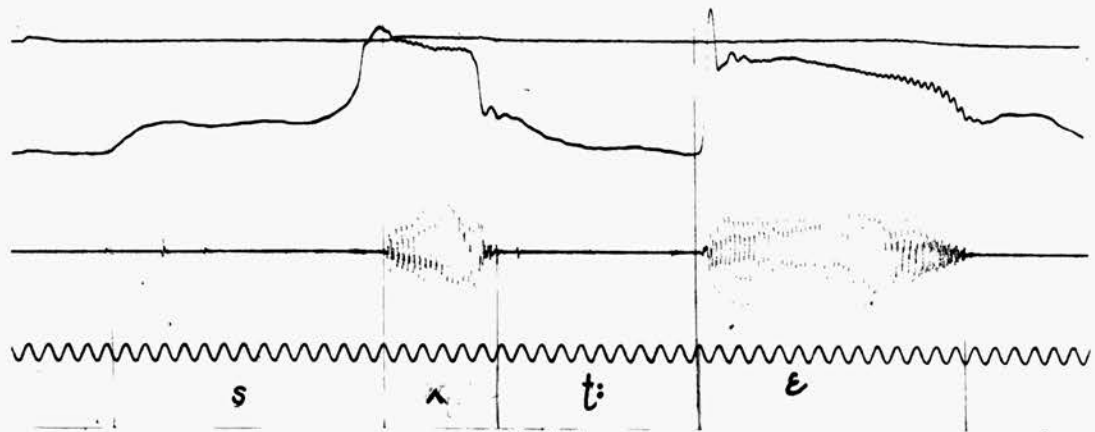
Kgm. 23 raattiri [tæ:ti:] 'night'



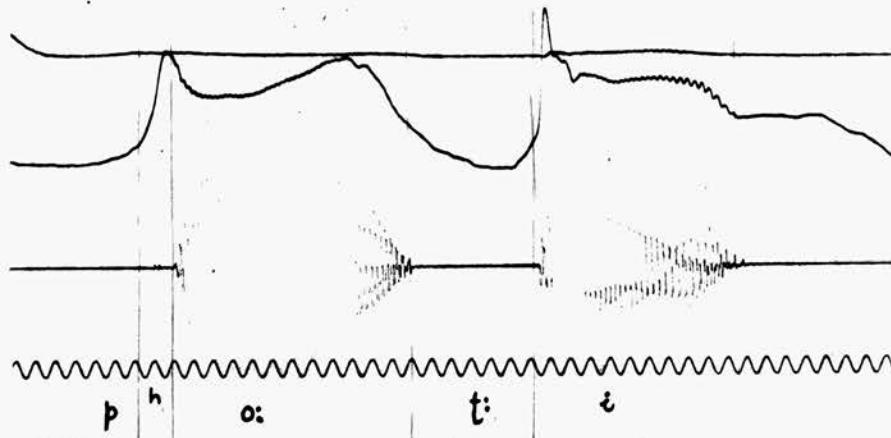
Kgm. 24 kaattu [hæ:ti:] 'wind'



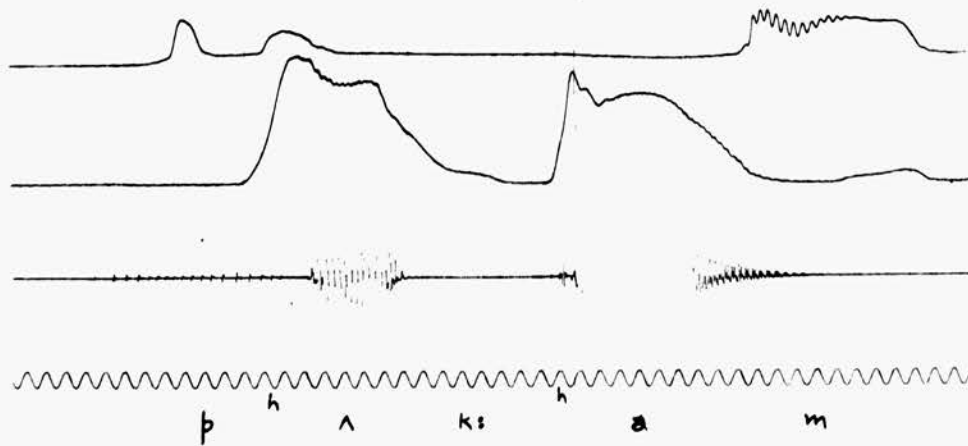
Kgm. 25 kuRRam [kæt:əm] 'guilt'



Kem. 26 en[tʰe [sʌtʰɛ] 'dress'



Kem. 27 po:[tʰi [pʰo:tʰi] 'competition'



Kem. 28 pakkam [pʰakʰɪm] 'side'

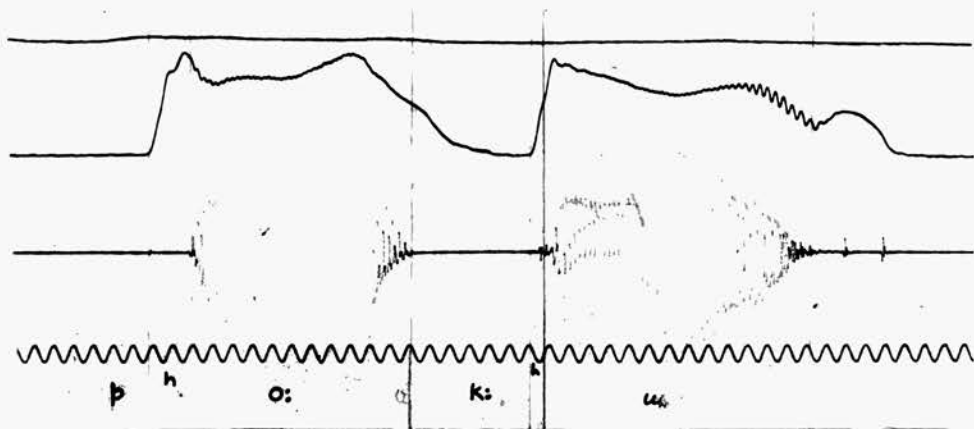


Fig. 29 pookku [pɔ:kʁu] 'behaviour'

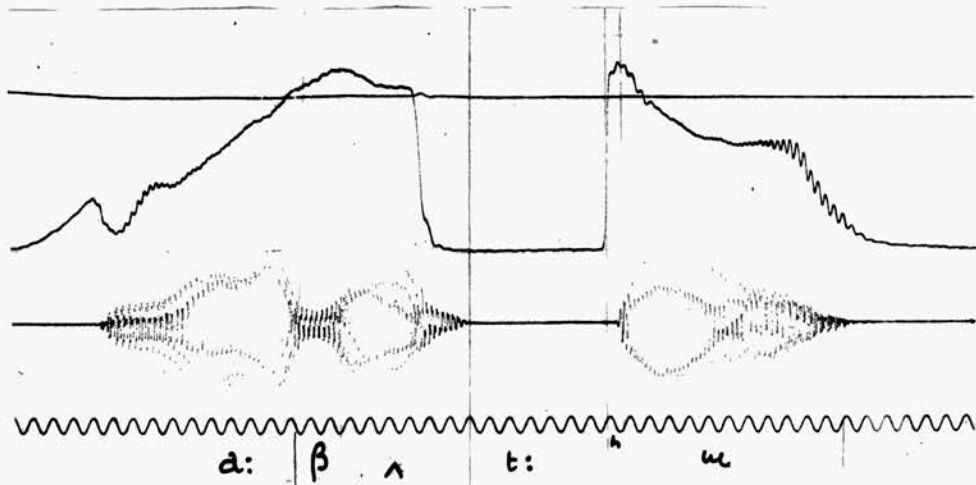


Fig. 30 appattu [a:βɔ:tʁu] 'danger'

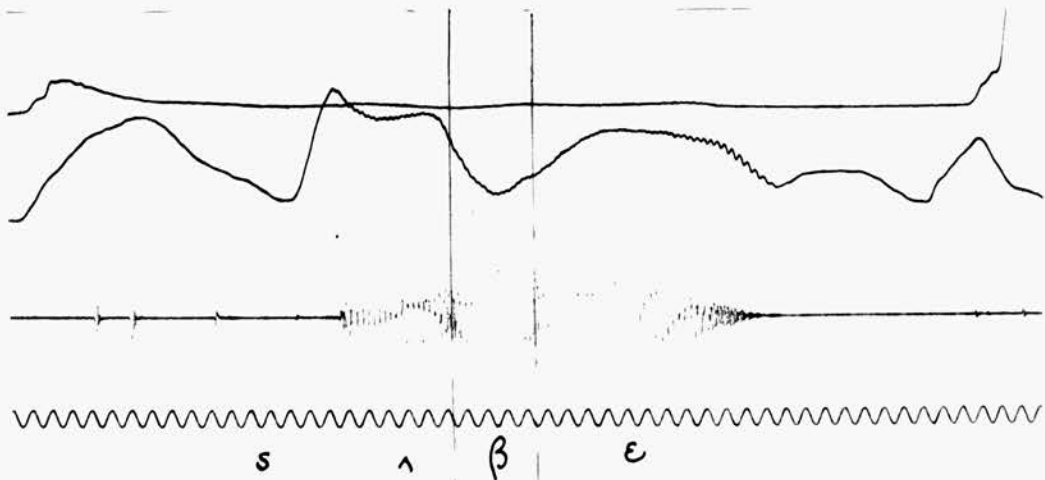
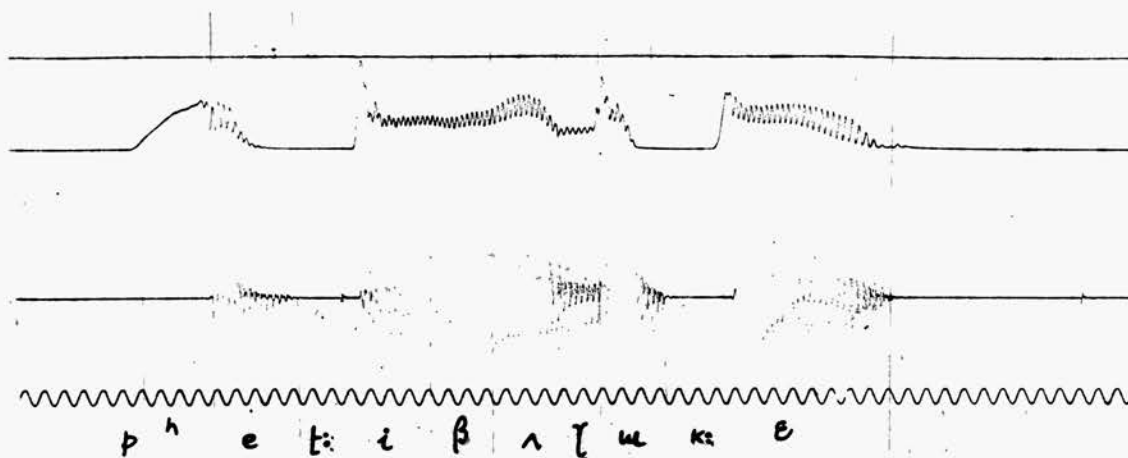
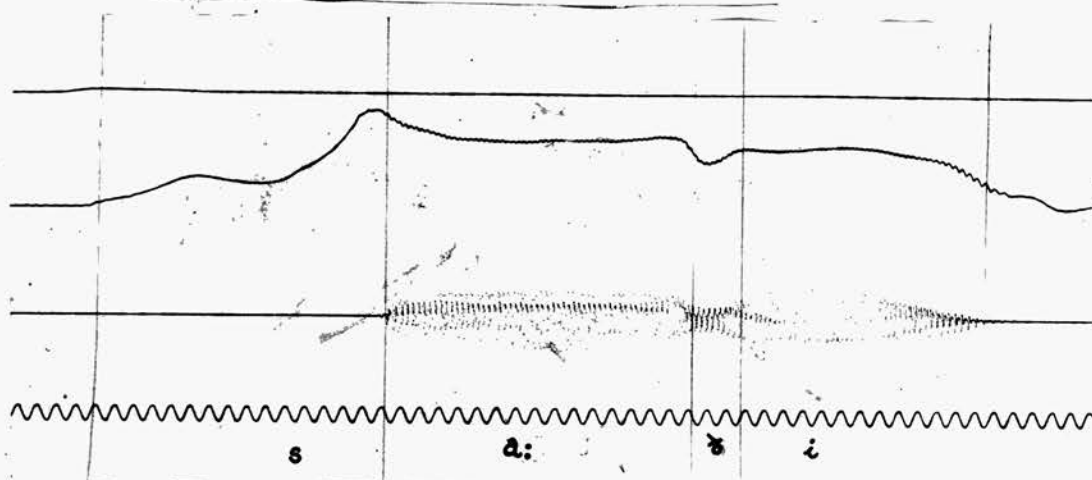


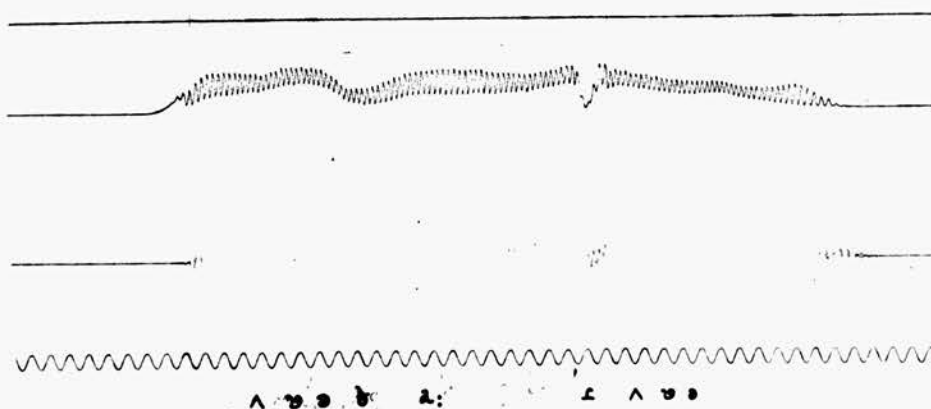
Fig. 31 cape [sɹɹβɛ] 'assembly'



Kgm. 32 po[[ipa[ukto [pə[βa[ukto] 'personal belongings'



Kgm. 33 onoti [onəʒi] 'onote'



Kgm. 34 avetaaRave [ʌʊʒa:ʌʊʒ] 'she gives'

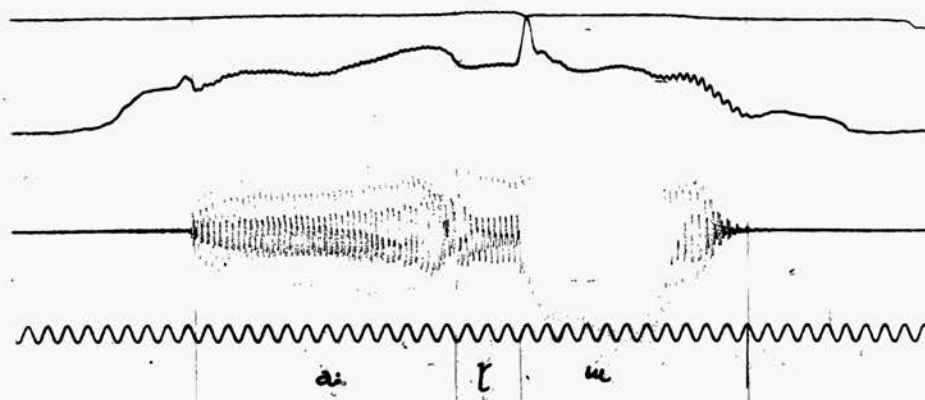


Fig. 35 an[u [a:ɹu] 'sheep(ng.)'

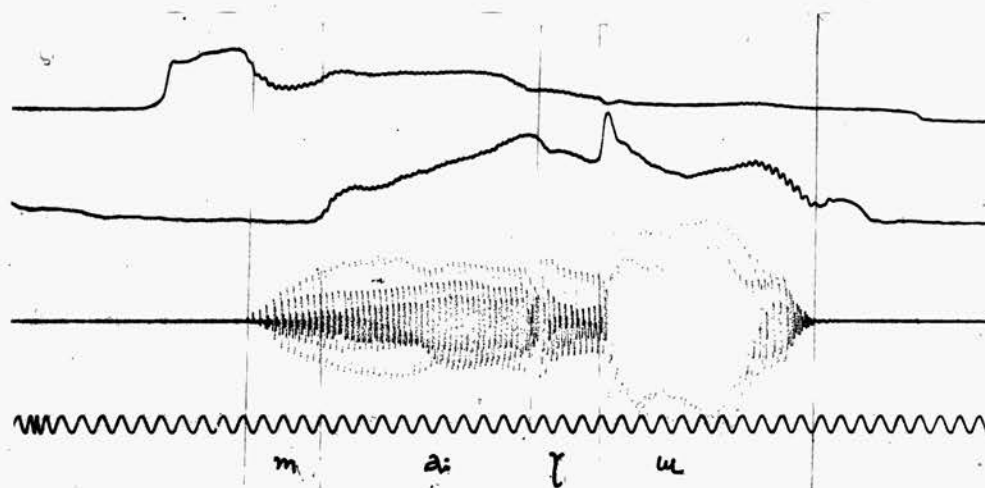


Fig. 36 ma[u [ma:ɹu] 'cattle(ng.)'

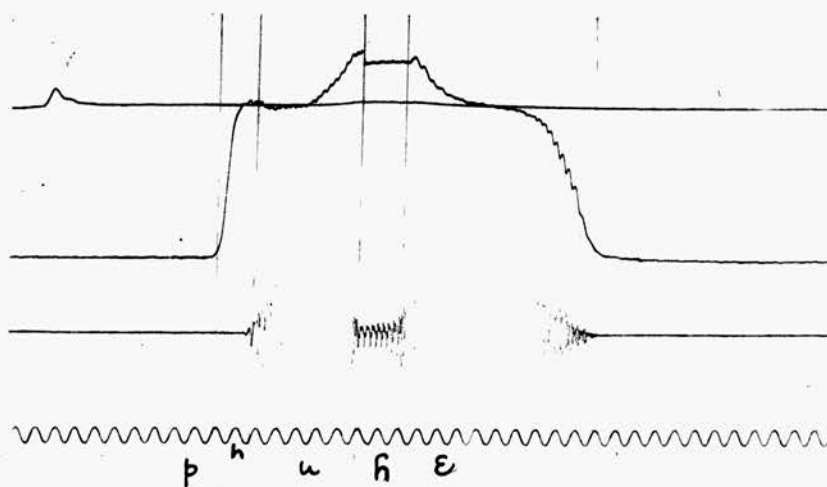
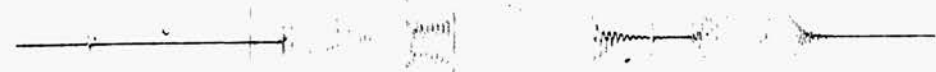
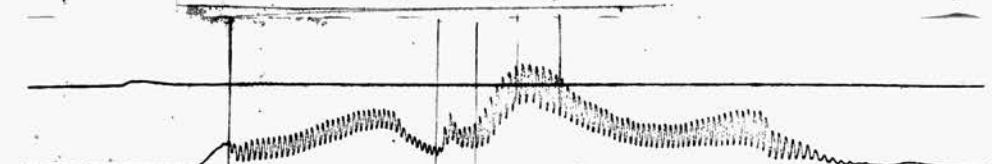


Fig. 37 puke [pʰuʰɛ] 'smoke'



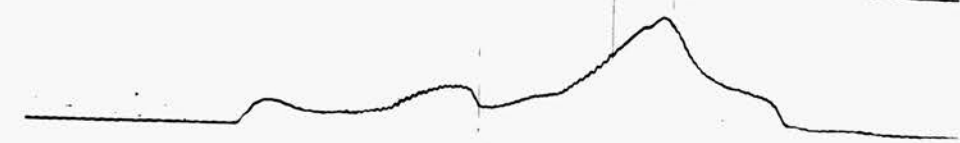
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Kgm. 38 kaatukuttu [k̄h:ɔ̄uʔut:u] 'ear boring'



a:	γ	u	h	a:	t
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Fig. 39 aa[uhna:l] [a:ru:na:l] 'well sweep prop'



m a n i s s e n

Kgm. 40 manioan [mɒnʲiʂɒn] 'man'

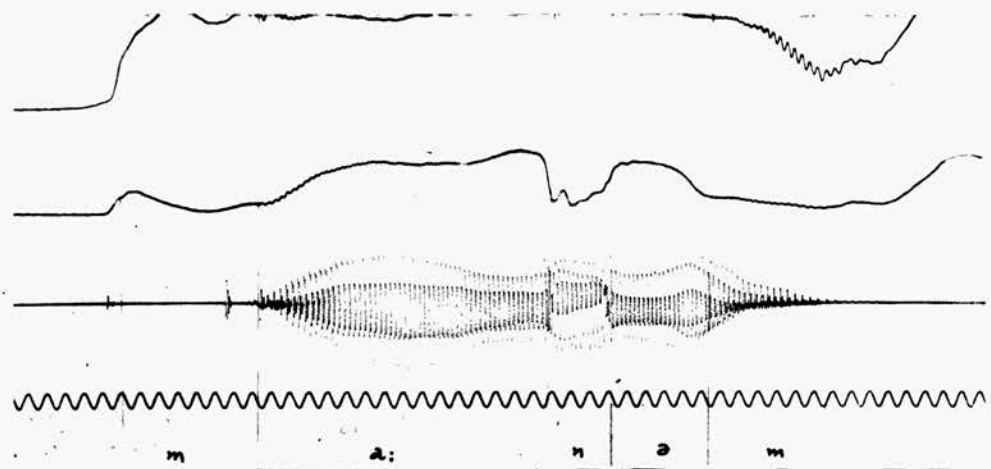


Fig. 41 manan [mānə] 'honour'

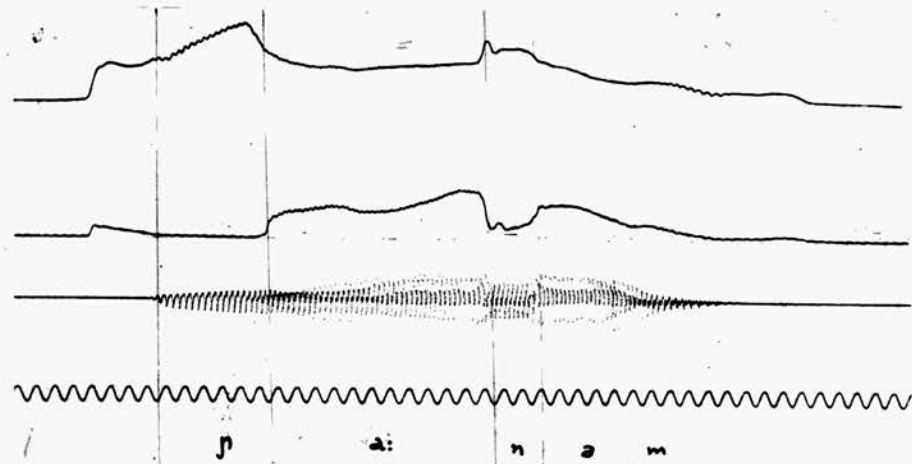


Fig. 42 paanan [pānə] 'knowledge'

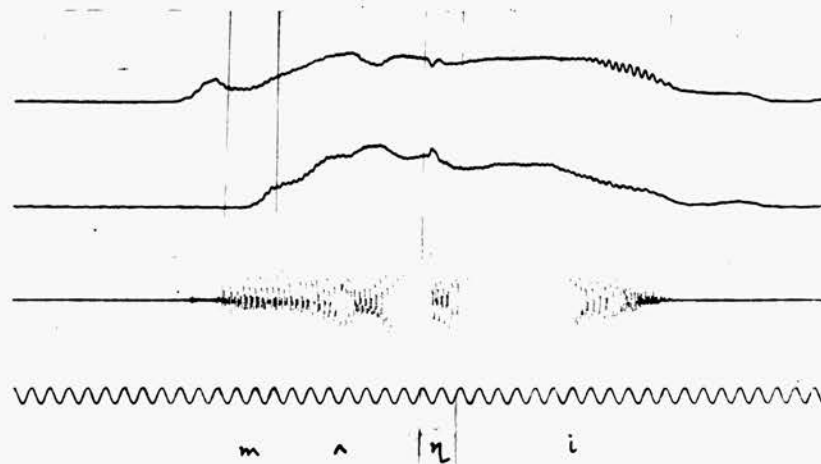
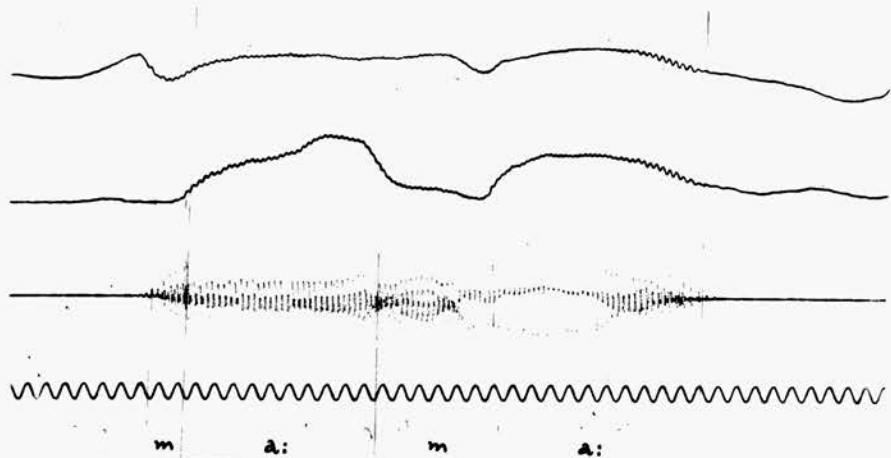
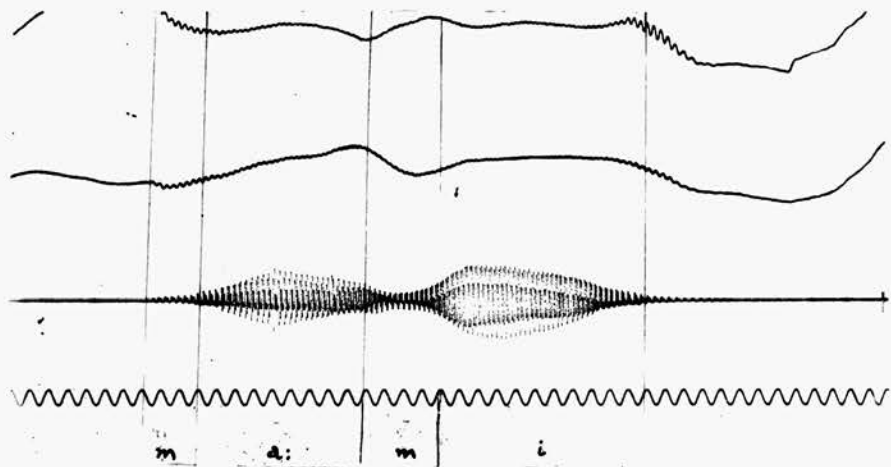


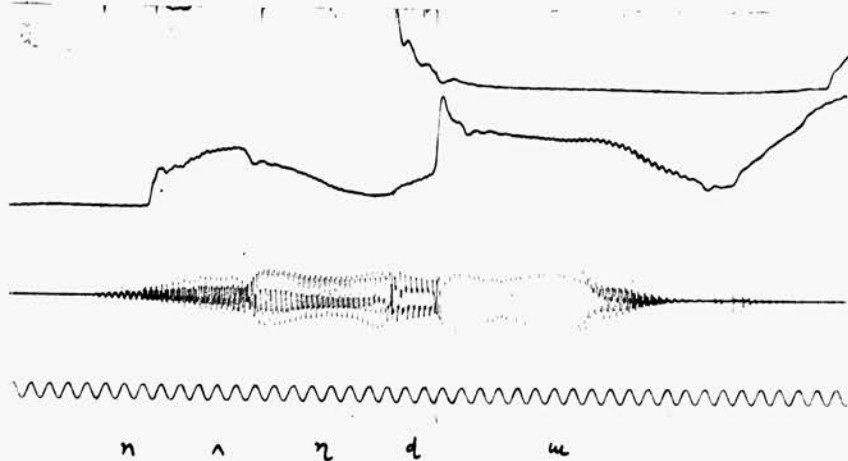
Fig. 43 maŋi [māŋi] 'bell'



Kgm. 44 maama [mā:mā:] 'maternal uncle'



Kgm. 45 maami [mā:mī:] 'maternal aunt'



Kgm. 46 nan[u] [nāŋdū] 'orab'

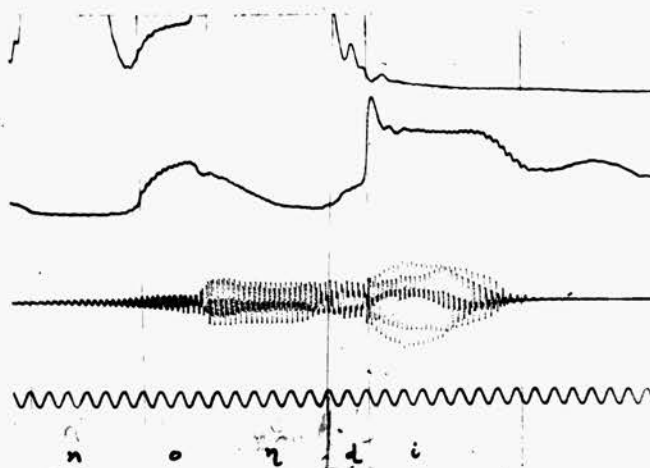


Fig. 47 non [nɔ̃n] 'a lame person'

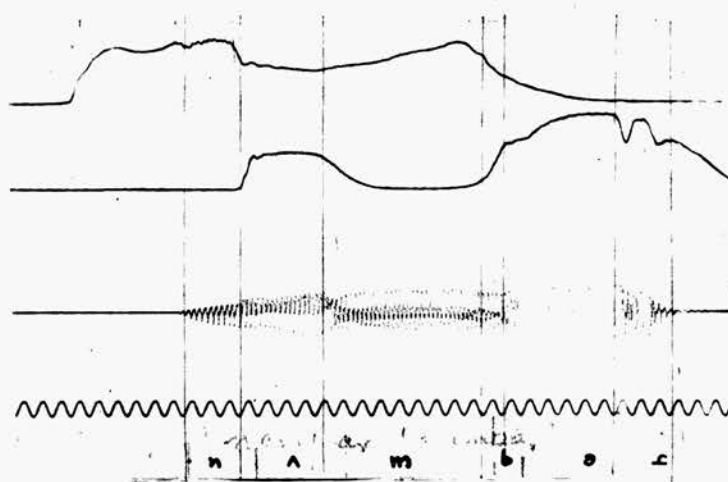
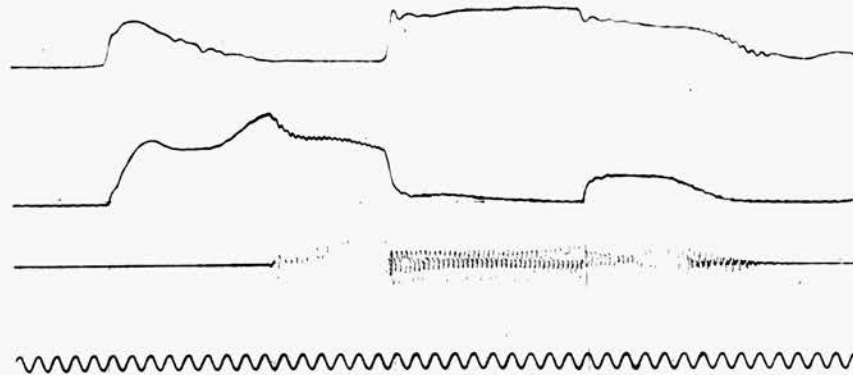


Fig. 48 nampar [nɑ̃pɑr] 'number'



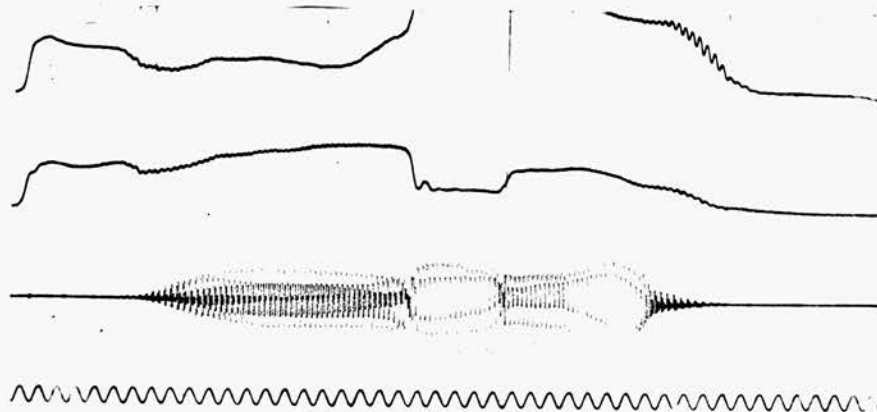
Fig. 49 pinan [pinãn] 'corpse'



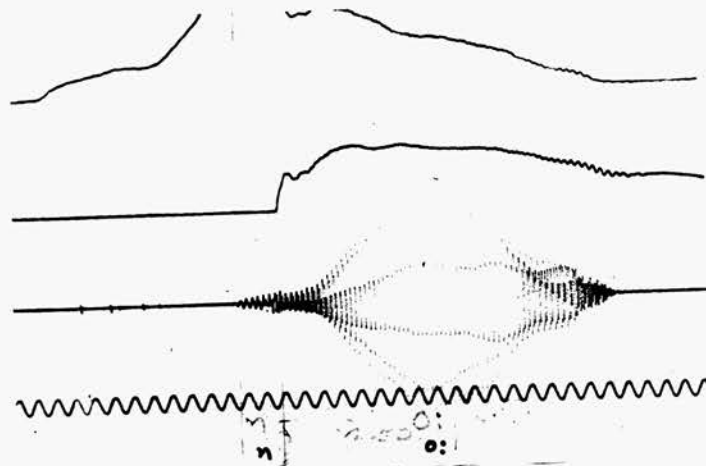
5 ʌ n: ə m
 Kgm. 50 *pellet* [pɛlɛt]



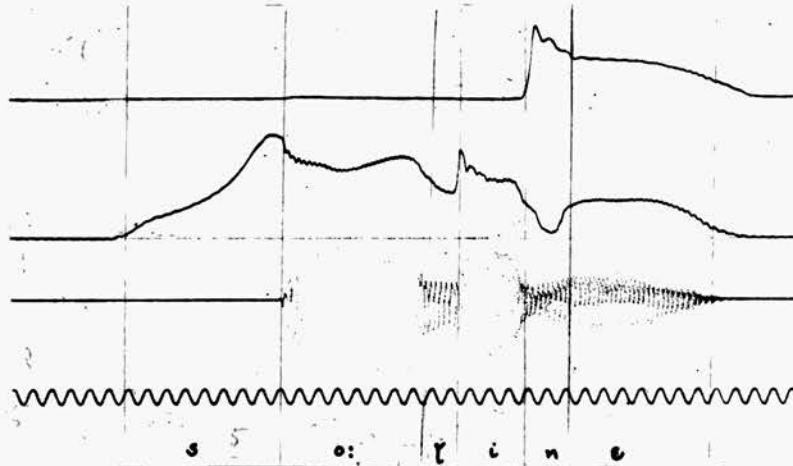
n a: n
 Kgm. 51 *I* [aɪ]



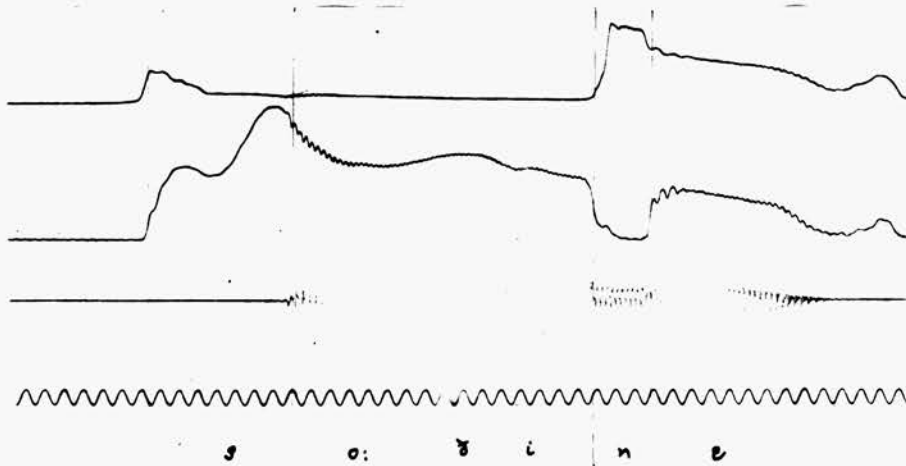
n i:
 Kgm. 52 *you* [ju:]



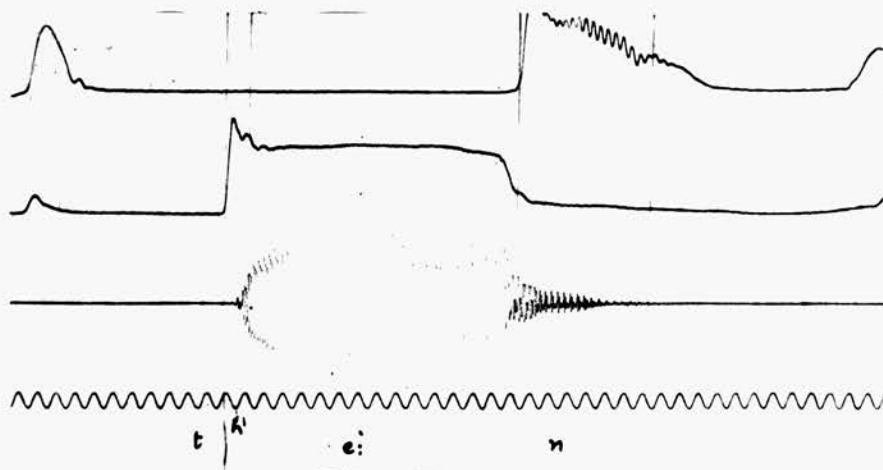
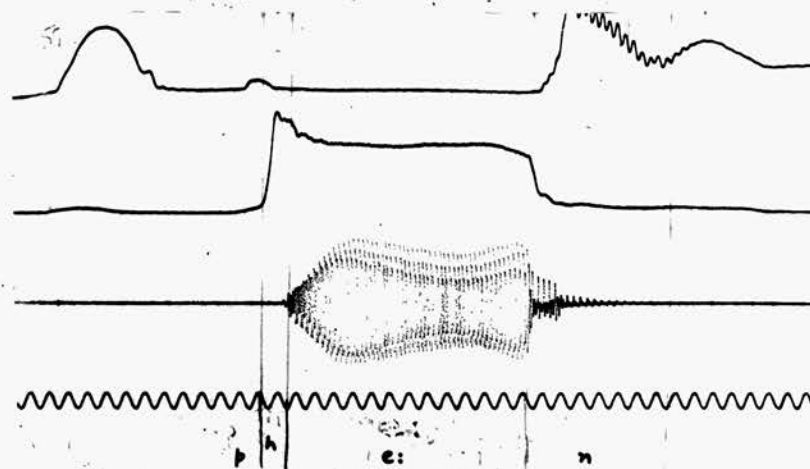
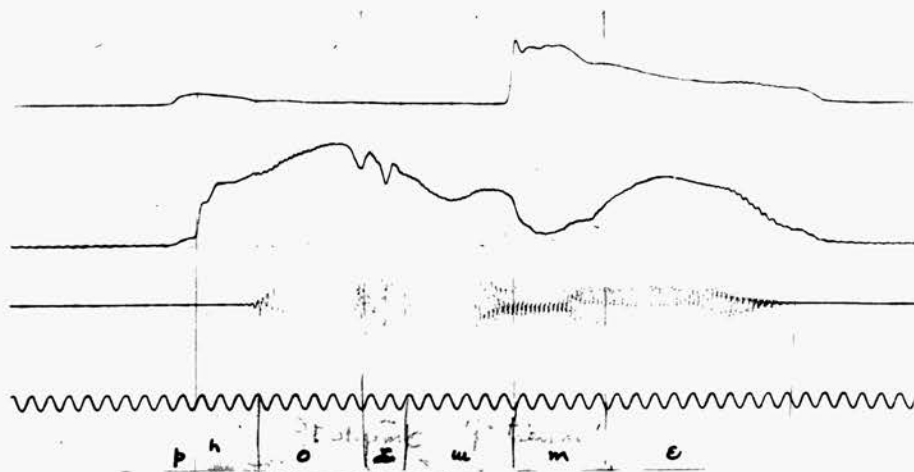
Kgm. 53 noo [nɔ:] 'pain'



Kgm. 54 ooo[ine [so:ɪnɪ] 'decoration'



Kgm. 55 oootine [so:ɪnɪ] 'examination'



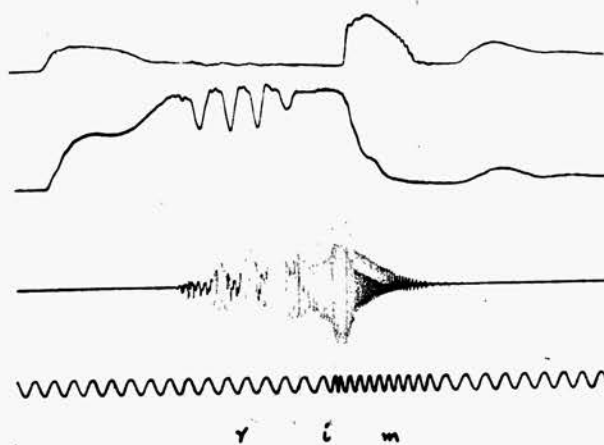


Fig. 59 Rim [rim] 'rim'

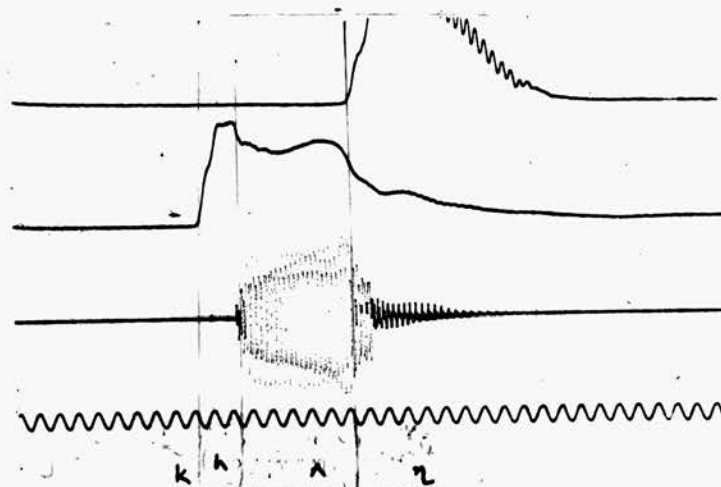


Fig. 60 kha [kha] 'eye'

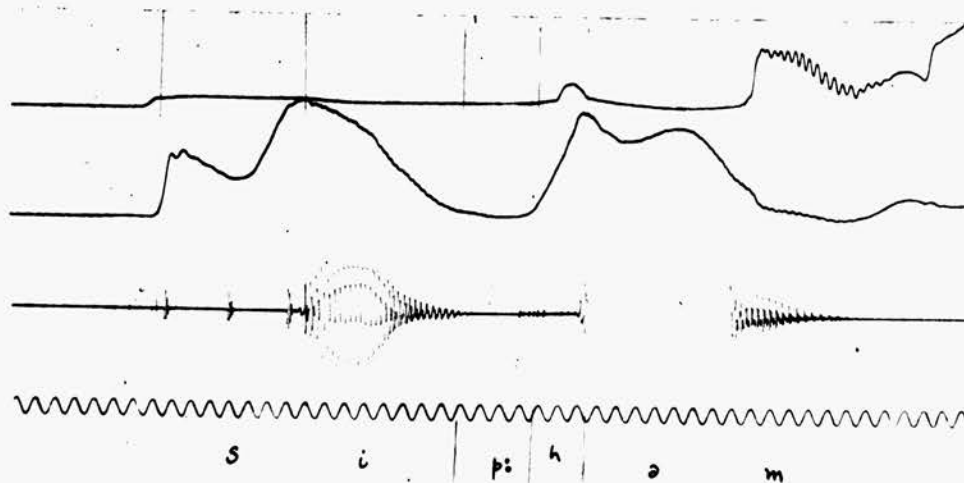
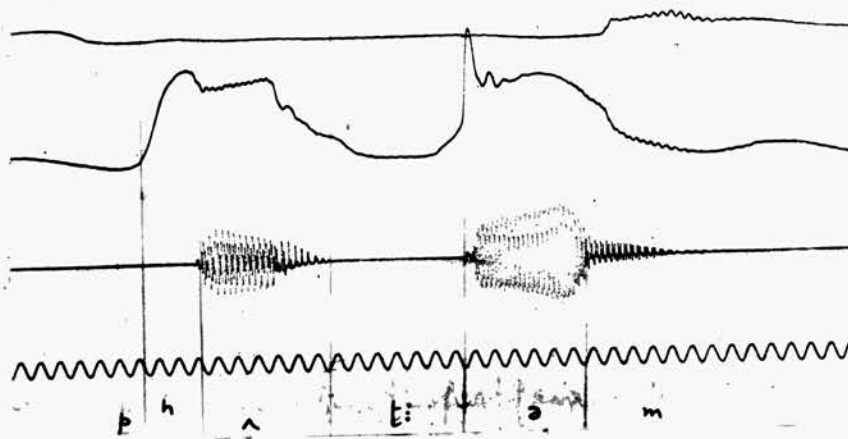
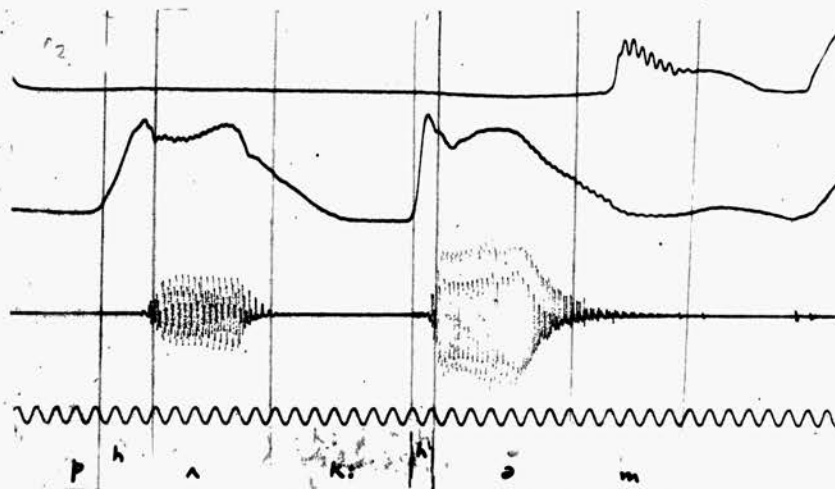


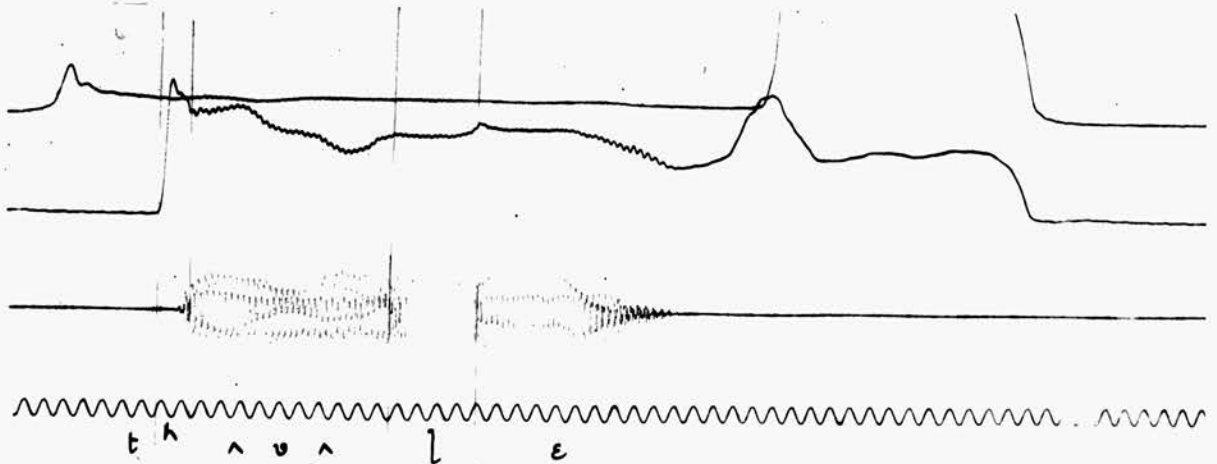
Fig. 61 cippam [siphm] 'bundle'



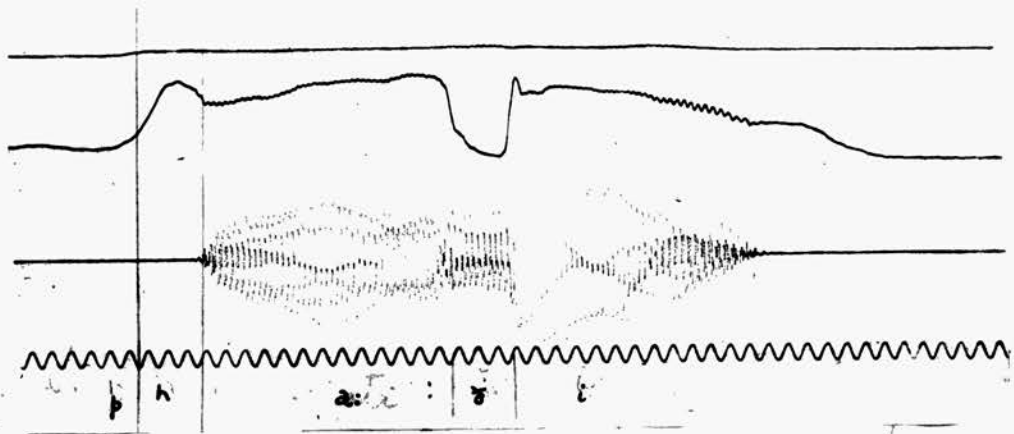
Kgm. 62 pa[ʃ]an [pʰ]a[ɪ]m 'nick name'



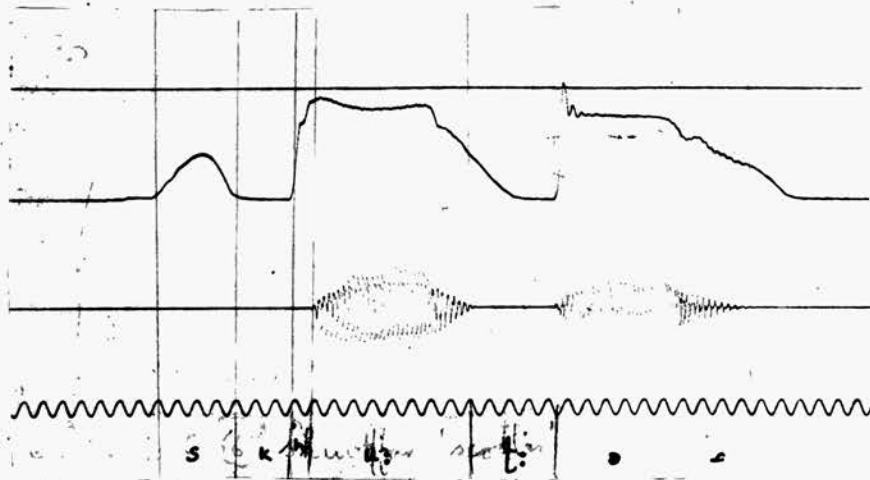
Kgm. 63 pakkam [pʰ]ak[ɪ]m 'side'



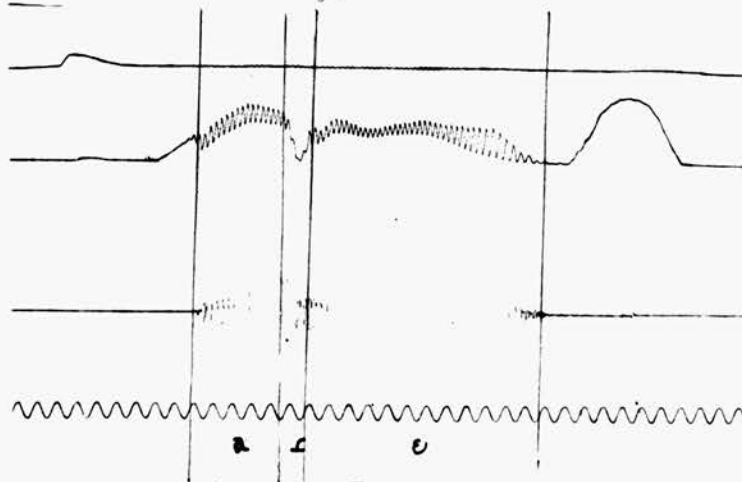
Kgm. 64 tava[ə] [tʰ]u[ə] [ɛ] 'frog'



Kgm. 65 paati [pa:ti] 'half'



Kgm. 66 skua [sua] 'scoter'



Kgm. 67 are [a:ɛ] 'half'

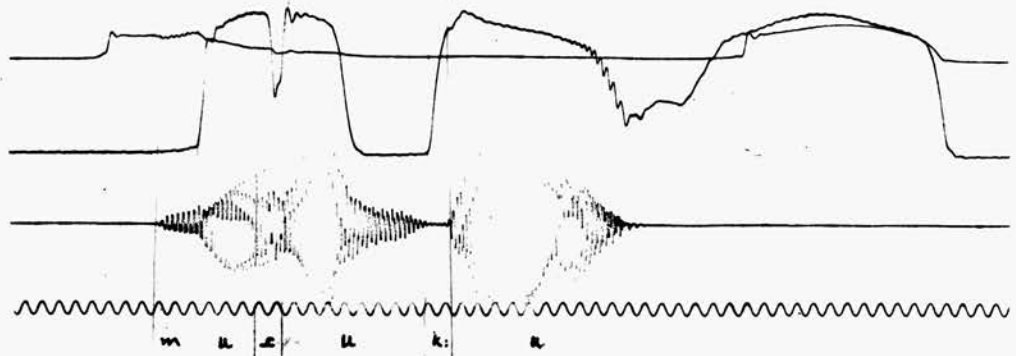


Fig. 68 murukhu [murukhu] 'name of a tree'

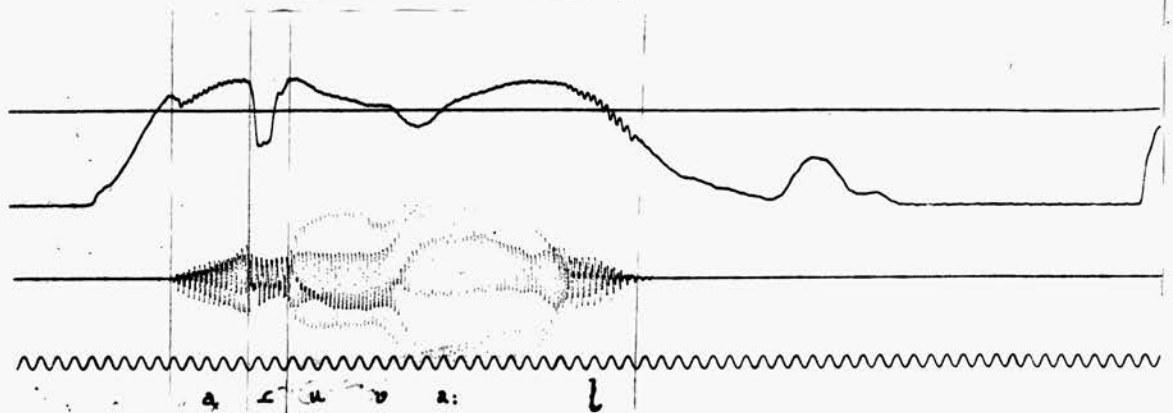


Fig. 69 aruvaa [aruvaa] 'sickle'

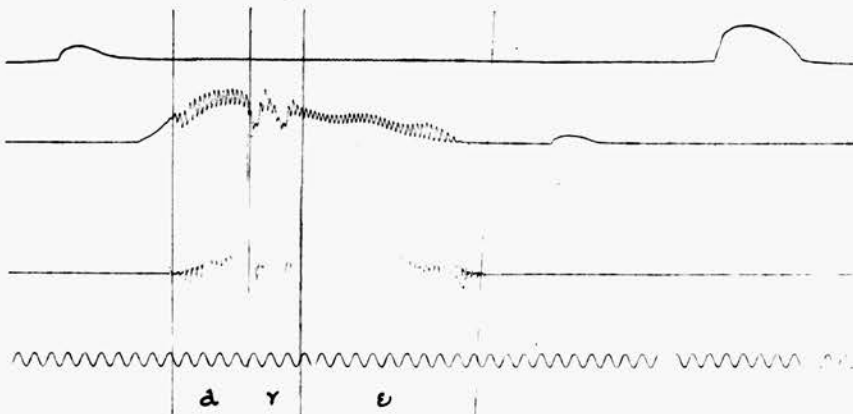
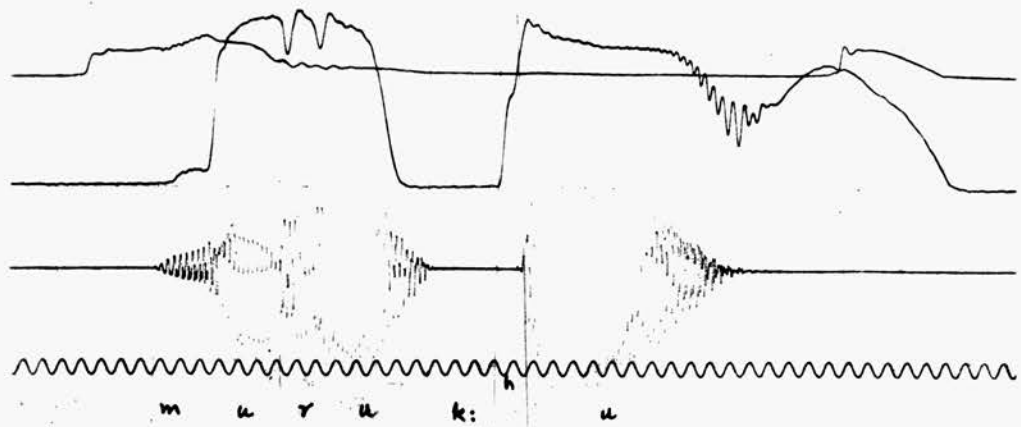
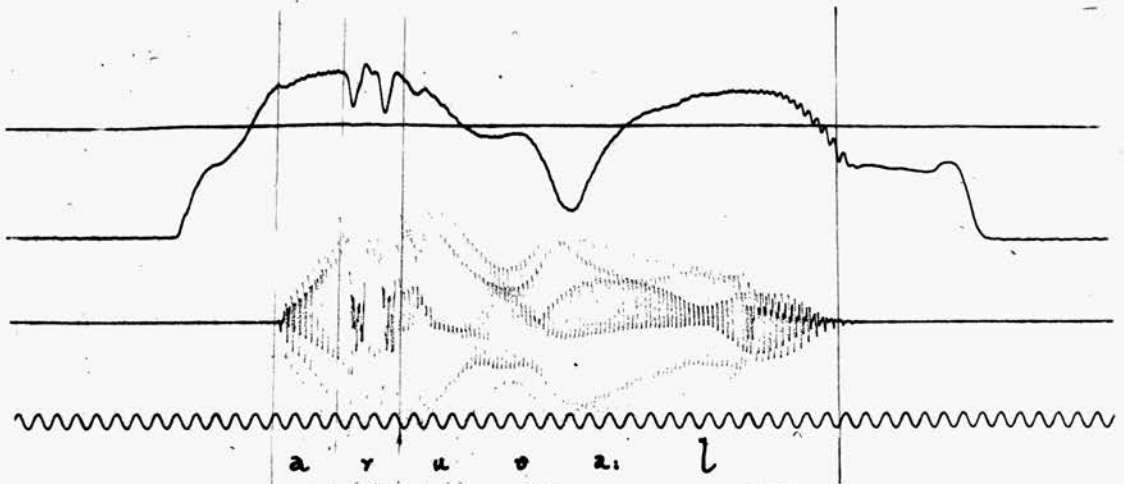


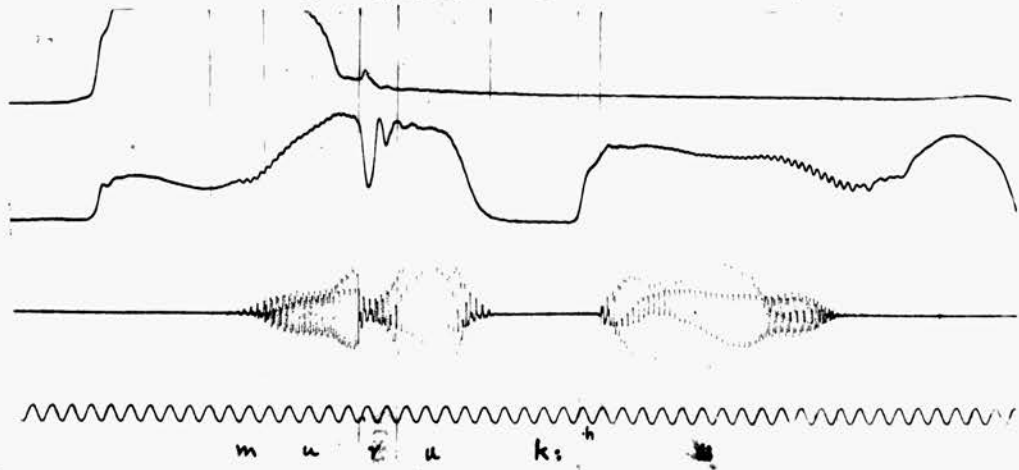
Fig. 70 aRe [aRe] 'room'



Kgm. 71 muruku [muruku] 'an estate'



Kgm. 72 aruvai [aruvai] 'accused be her'



Kgm. 73 muruku [muruku] 'name of a tree'

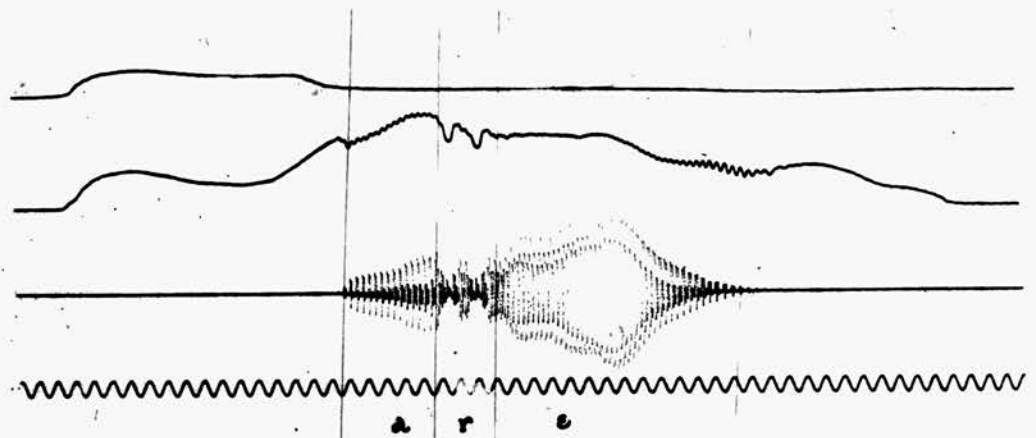


Fig. 74 are [are] 'half'

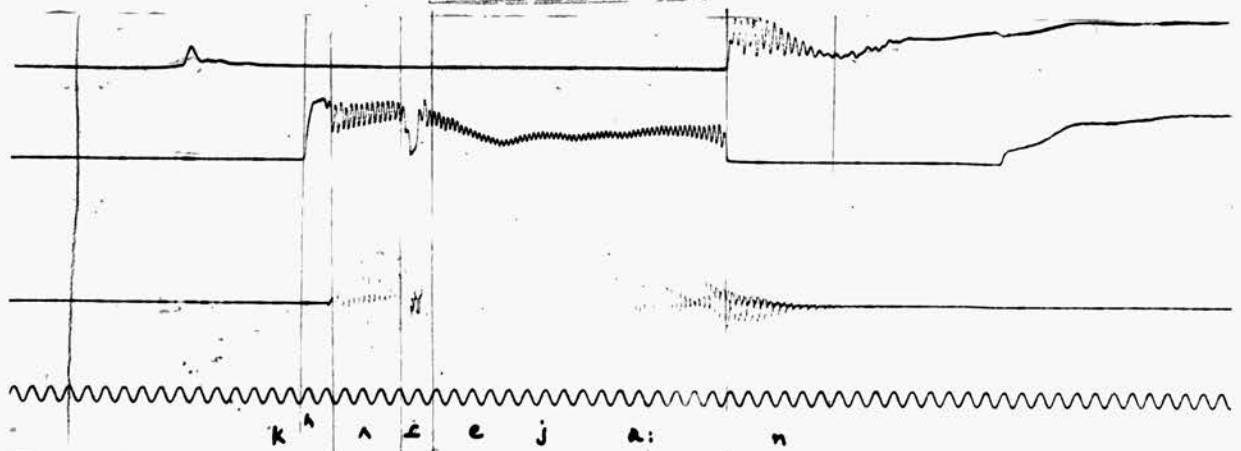


Fig. 75 kaŋeŋaŋ [kaŋeŋaŋ] 'white ant'

Discussion of Kymograms

(1) The Voicing of Plosives after Nasals

8.3.10 This phenomenon was particularly checked because in the Tamil orthography, one symbol is used to represent the voiceless and voiced plosives of each series (See a Note on the Reading transcription in accordance with the Conventions of the Tamil Orthographic Practice on pages 51 - 55). On account of this writers on Jaffna Tamil have stated⁷ that the plosives are voiceless in all phonetic environments and that "words are pronounced as they are written". In the writer's speech, plosives after nasals (homorganic or otherwise) are always voiced. This is illustrated by the following kymograms. Kymograms 2 - 6 are of the nominals of the native class, namely, kompu [kombu] 'horn' , ponṇtu [ponṇdu] 'hole' , kaṇṭu [kaṇṭu] 'young plant' , kuṇṅku [kuṇṅku] 'monkey' and piṇcu [piṇdʒu] 'tender fruit'. Kymograms 7-11 are of the nominals of the marginal class, namely, memṇpar [memṇbəɾ] 'member' , taṇti [taṇdi] 'telegram' , taṇṭu [taṇṭu] 'stem' , paṇṅki [paṇṅgi] 'a Burgher' and peṇcil [peṇdʒil] 'pencil'. These have an orthographic mp , ṇt , ṇṭ , ṇk and ṇc respectively. In speech, they are [mb] , [nṇd] , [nṇṭ] , [nṇg] and [dʒ] as illustrated by these kymograms. Each of these words has a word-initial voiceless plosive. Soon after the

7. For instance, see Kanapathi Pillai (1951, pp.222-23).

explosion of the plosives, voicing sets in which continues up to the end of the utterance in each case. On the mouth tracing, mouth closure for the nasal plosive articulation is indicated by a straight line. The sharp upward peak after the straight line indicates the release of the plosive. If one sees the larynx tracings corresponding to this, one finds the vibration of the vocal cords clearly indicating thereby that the plosives after nasals are clearly voiced.

(2) Aspiration of Voiceless Plosives

8.3.11 In Tamil (in the dialect under survey and in most of the dialects the writer is aware of) aspiration of voiceless plosives is not distinctive nor is it determined by definite phonetic environments as in English (R.P.). In Tamil, there are no heavily aspirated plosives to contrast with the unaspirated ones. In languages like English, for example, there are heavily aspirated plosives and slightly aspirated or unaspirated plosives. To illustrate, of the two p's in paper the first p- is heavily aspirated (in the speech of those who speak R.P. anyway) whereas the second -p- is not. Though the second -p- may be slightly aspirated (as it is in the speech of many) it cannot be considered unaspirated in contrast to the heavily aspirated initial p- .

8.3.12 In the language under survey, voiceless

plosives very freely occur in word-initial position and in intervocalic position. Intervocalically, voiceless plosives are invariably long. The writer made several kymograms to ascertain whether the voiceless plosives in these two phonetic environments are aspirated. This period of voiceless release however was not uniform as can be seen from the following table which shows the results of the findings from a random sampling of kymograms taken for this purpose.

Nominal	Position of Plosive	Aspiration - Period of voiceless release in milliseconds
komp <u>h</u> pu [kombu]	k-	30
ka <u>h</u> ncal [ka ^h ndʒəl]	"	35
kun <u>h</u> tu [kundu ⁿⁿ]	"	30
kat <u>h</u> ti [kʌt:i]	"	25
ka <u>h</u> attu [ka:t:w]	"	20
kar <u>h</u> i [kʌi]	"	45
ka <u>h</u> tti [kʌt:i]	"	25
pook <u>h</u> ku [po:k:u]	p-	45
pat <u>h</u> tu [pʌt:w]	"	40

pantu	p-	40
^h _{nn} [pʌndu]	—	
puunti	"	45
^h _{nn} [pu:ndi]		
tanti	t-	"
^h _{nn} [tʌndi]		
tampi	"	18
^h _{nn} [tʌmbi]		
tava]e	"	15
^h _{nn} [tʌvʌ]e]		
aapattu	-t̥- [t:]	10
[a:βʌt:w]		
pattu	"	18
[pʌt:w]		
kaattu	"	15
[ka:t:w]		
ca]t̥e	-t̥- [t:]	00
[sʌt̥:e]		
to]t̥i	"	"
[to]t̥:i]		
ka]t̥i	"	"
[kʌ]t̥:i]		

TABLE 8.1

8.3.13 Initial plosives are followed by a period of voicelessness ranging between 15 and 45 milliseconds. In most of the examples tested however, the period of voicelessness after the release phase of the plosive varies from 30 to 45 milliseconds. Intervocalic long

voiceless plosives are less aspirated than word-initial single ones. $-\bar{p}-$, $-\bar{t}-$ and $-\bar{k}-$ have very weak aspiration, the period of voicelessness ranging between 08 and 18 milliseconds. On the basis of this, the writer feels that word-initial plosives are slightly aspirated whereas intervocalic plosives are unaspirated. It is to be noted that intervocalic double $-\bar{t}-$ is completely unaspirated, the period of voicelessness during the closure in the examples tested being 00 .

- 8.3.15 Kymograms 12 - 15 are of the nominals paampu [^hpa:mbu] 'snake' , tanti [^ht_{nn}andi] 'telegram' , kuntu [^hkundu] 'door step' and ruci [^hrusi] 'taste' respectively. The release phase of the initial voiceless plosives and the setting in of voicing are marked in each kymogram. It can be clearly seen from these that word-initial plosives are slightly aspirated. Kymograms 16 - 19 are of the nominals kappal [kʌp:əl] 'ship' , katti [kʌt:i] 'knife' , paaṭṭi [pa:ṭṭ:i] 'grandmother' and paakku [pa:k:w] 'arecanut' respectively. The plosion of the intervocalic plosives are marked with a vertical line and aspiration (if any) is also marked. One sees that intervocalic $-\bar{t}-$ is not at all aspirated whereas intervocalic $-\bar{p}-$, $-\bar{t}-$ and $-\bar{k}-$ are very slightly aspirated when compared to word-initial ones. It is on the basis of kymograms of these sort that it was

decided to call intervocalic voiceless plosives unaspirated.

(3) Duration of Medial Double Plosives

8.3.15 The duration of intervocalic voiceless plosives was measured with the help of kymograms. It was found that the duration of closure was very long if the plosive is preceded by a short vowel. The duration is less if the plosive is preceded by a long vowel. For example, in the nominals puṭṭu [puṭ:u] 'a kind of cake' and puuṭṭu [pu:ṭ:u] 'lock', the plosive in puṭṭu [puṭ:u] is very much longer than in puuṭṭu [pu:ṭ:u]. The next few kymograms illustrate this point. Kymograms 20 - 29 are of the nominals tappu [tʌp:w] 'mistake', piippaa [pi:p:a:] 'barrel', pattu [pʌt:w] 'ten', raattiri [ta:t:ifi] 'night', kaattu [ka:t:w] 'wind', kuRRam [kuṭ:əm] 'guilt', caṭṭe [sʌṭ:ɛ] 'dress', pooṭṭi [po:ṭ:i] 'competition', pakkam [pʌk:əm] 'side' and pookku [po:k:u] 'behaviour'. The duration of voiceless plosives in these is tabulated below.

Nominal	Voiceless Plosives	Duration in Milliseconds	
		Preceded by a short vowel	Preceded by a long vowel
tappu [tʌp:w]	-p̄-	165	
piippaa [pi:p:a:]	"		110
pattu [pʌt:w]	-ṭ-	195	

raattiri	- <u>t̥</u> -	130
[<u>t</u> a:t:i <u>t̥</u> i]		
kaattu	"	145
[k <u>a</u> :t:u]		
kuRRam	- <u>t̥</u> -	140
[k <u>u</u> t̥:ə <u>m</u>]		
ca <u>t̥</u> te	- <u>t̥</u> - [<u>t̥</u> :]	205
[s <u>ʌ</u> t̥:ɛ]		
poo <u>t̥</u> i	"	130
[p <u>o</u> :t̥:i]		
pakkam	- <u>k̥</u> -	145
[p <u>ʌ</u> k̥:ə <u>m</u>]		
pookku	"	125
[p <u>o</u> :k̥:u]		

TABLE 8.2

8.3.16 It is clear from these kymograms and from the table given above that the voiceless plosives are considerably longer if preceded by short vowels than by long vowels. This feature of the length of medial voiceless stops was examined with the help of several spectrograms as well. The spectrographic analysis is given later in this chapter (See 8.4).

(4) Intervocalic -p- , -t- , -t̥- and -k-

8.3.17 In intervocalic position, single -p- , -t- , -t̥- and -k- (as represented in the reading transcription) are not voiceless plosives at all in speech if we take into account native and a great majority of marginal nominals. They are realized as follows:

- p- → [β] voiced bilabial fricative
 -t- → [ð] Voiced dental fricative
 -t̪- → [ɽ] voiced retroflex flap
 -k- → [h] voiced glottal fricative

8.3.18 To give one example for each, laapam 'profit' , vitam 'way' , cooṭi 'pair' , and kaakam 'crow' are [la:βəm] , [ʋiðəm] , [so:ɽi] and [ka:həm] respectively in speech. This is observed in connected speech and compounds. If a word ending in a vowel and another word beginning with a voiceless plosive are compounded to form a nominal compound, the initial voiceless plosive of the second word is realized as a voiced fricative.⁸ To illustrate, oru [oɽu] 'one' + peṭiyan [peɽijən] 'boy' , taṭi [tʌɽi] 'stick' + taṇṭu [tʌṇṭu] 'stem' , taali [ta:li] 'nuptial knot' + kaṭṭu [kʌɽ:u] 'tying' are realized in connected speech respectively as [oɽuβeɽijən] 'a boy' , [tʌɽiðʌṇṭu] 'stick or a similar object' and [ta:lihʌɽ:u] 'tying the nuptial knot'.

8.3.19 These statements are illustrated with a few kymograms of isolated nominals and compounds. Kymograms 30 - 39 are of the expressions aapattu [a:βʌt:u] 'danger' , cape [sʌβɛ] 'assembly' , peṭṭi [peɽ:i] 'box' + paṭukke [pʌɽʌk:ɛ] 'bed' , caati [sa:ði] 'caste' , ave [ʌʋə] 'she' +

8. This does not apply to marginal words beginning with

taaRave [ta:ɾʌʊə] '(she) gives' , aaɽu [a:ɽu] 'sheep (sg.)',
maaɽu [ma:ɽu] 'cattle (sg.)' , puke [puɦɛ] 'smoke' , kaatu
 [ka:ðu] 'ear' + kuttu [kut:u] 'boring' and aaɽu [a:ɽu]
 'to swing' + kaal [ka:l] 'prop' . Most of these are
 segmented. In kymograms 30 and 31 (aapattu and cape),
 the larynx tracing corresponding to the segment -p-
 (phonetically transcribed with the symbol [β] on the
 kymograms) shows wave forms indicating the vibration of the
 vocal cords during the articulation of this segment. The
 mouth tracing corresponding to the segment does not reach
 the base line at all. This proves that there was no mouth
 closure during the articulation of the segment concerned.
 In kymogram 32 of the nominal compound peɽɽipaɽukke
 [peɽ:iβʌɽ uk:ɛ] 'personal belongings', the initial p- , the
 medial -ɽ- of the first nominal and the medial -k- of the
 second nominal alone are voiceless plosives as indicated
 by the straight line along the larynx tracing and the short
 upward peak on the mouth tracing. The mouth tracing corres-
 ponding to the initial p- of the second nominal (phonetica-
 lly transcribed as [β]) shows that there has been air
 the voiceless plosive [t̪] . For instance, muunɽu [mu:ɳɖu]
 'three' + rii [ti:] 'tea' → muunɽurii [mu:ɳɖuti:] 'three
 cups of tea'

flow during the articulation of the segment suggesting that it is not a plosive articulation. The corresponding larynx tracing shows wave forms indicating the articulation of a voiced segment. In kymograms 33 caati [sa:ð̥i] 'caste' and 34 avetaaRave [ʌθəð̥a:ɾʌθɛ] 'she gives', one sees the air flow through the mouth from the beginning of the utterance to the end suggesting that there is no plosive articulation in either of the utterances. The larynx tracing on kymogram 33 (caati) shows that voicing starts with the vowel [a:] which continues till the end of the utterance, while on kymogram 34 (avetaaRave) there is voicing throughout the utterance. Kymograms 35 and 36 are of the nominals aaṭu [a:ɾ̥u] 'sheep (sg.)' and maaṭu [ma:ɾ̥u] 'cattle (sg.)' respectively, illustrating that intervocalic -ṭ- of the reading transcription is realized as [ɾ̥]. Both kymograms are segmented and the mouth tracing corresponding to the segment phonetically transcribed [ɾ̥] reveals no arresting of the air flow through the mouth. The larynx tracing corresponding to the segment shows regular wave forms. Kymograms 37 , 38 and 39 are of the expressions puke [puhɛ] 'smoke' , kaatukuttu [ka:ð̥uɦut:u] 'ear boring' and aaṭukaal [a:ɾ̥uɦa:l] 'well sweep prop' respectively. In kymogram 37 (puke) after the initial voiceless plosive there is no arrest of the mouth air flow and the vocal

cords have vibrated after the plosion of the initial p- till the end of the utterance. In kymogram 38 (kaatukuttu) the air flow through the mouth has been arrested and the vocal cords have stopped vibrating only during the articulation of the -t- [t:] of the second nominal. In kymogram 39 (aa†ukaal) there is neither the arrest of the oral air flow nor are the vocal cords at rest throughout the articulation of the utterance. These three kymograms very clearly suggest that what is transcribed with -k- in intervocalic position in the reading transcription is not a voiceless velar plosive [k] in speech.

(5) Nasalization

8.3.20 Nasalization as a phonetic feature of the language has been mentioned in chapter 1 and as a syllable prosody in chapter 3 (See 1.9.1 - 1.9.3 , 3.8.1 - 3.8.10). Evidence for this feature could be attested through the nose and mouth tracings in kymograms appended in this chapter. This feature was checked by means of several kymographic tracings of which only selected specimens are included in this chapter.

8.3.21 Kymograms 40 - 42 are of the nominals manican [mã'nĩsẽn] 'man' , maanam [mã:nãm] 'honour' and naanam [nã:nãm] 'knowledge' respectively. These nominals have an initial nasal, final nasal and an intervocalic nasal. The

nose tracings of all these kymograms show regular wave forms from the beginning till the end of the utterance. This is conclusive proof that the nasal passage of air was not closed during the articulation of any part of these utterances, thereby showing that all the vowels in these utterances are heavily nasalized.

8.3.22 Kymograms 43 - 45 are of the nominals maṇi [mãṇĩ] 'bell' , maamaa [mã:mã:] 'maternal uncle' and maami [mã:mĩ] 'maternal aunt' respectively. Both the vowels in all these three utterances are heavily nasalized as indicated by the continuous wave forms on the nasal tracings. These kymograms show that vowels that are flanked on either side by nasals in a word are heavily nasalized even though they belong to two consecutive syllables.

8.3.23 In nominals of more than one syllable, if one syllable be of the structure NVN (where N represents a nasal and V a vowel) the vowel in that syllable alone is nasalized as can be seen in kymograms 46 - 48 which are of the nominals naṇṭu [nãṇḍũ] 'crab' , noṇṭi [nõṇḍi] 'lame person' and nampar [nãmbəɽ] 'number' respectively. The vowels in the initial syllable of these nominals ([ʌ] , [o] and [ʌ] respectively) are nasalized as can be clearly seen from the nasal tracings of these kymograms. Kymograms 49 and 50 which are of the nominals piṇam [piṇẽm] 'corpse' and cannam [sʌn:ẽm] 'pellet' respectively indicate the same

feature in the second (final) syllables.

8.3.24 In monosyllabic words of the syllabic pattern NV(N) the vowel forming the nucleus is nasalized as indicated by kymograms 51 - 53. They are of the nominals naan [nã:n] 'I' , nii [ní:] 'you' and noo [nõ:] 'pain' respectively. The nasal tracings corresponding to the vowels [a:] , [i:] and [o:] show regular wave forms indicating nasalization.

8.3.25 In nominals of the syllabic pattern CVCVNV (where C is any consonant other than a nasal and N a nasal consonant) the vowel following N tends to be nasalized as revealed by the nasal tracings of kymograms 54 - 56. These kymograms are of the nominals coo[†]line [so:ɿnẽ] 'decoration', cootine [so:ðinẽ] 'examination' and poRume [porumẽ] 'patience' respectively.

8.3.26 In monosyllables of the structure CVN (where C is an oral consonant and N a nasal consonant) the V forming the syllable nucleus is not nasalized. Kymograms 57 - 60 could be attested for this feature. They are of the nominals peen [pe:n] 'louse' , teen [te:n] 'honey' , Rim [rim] 'rim' and kan [kʌŋ] 'eye' respectively. The nasal tracings of these kymograms show a straight line indicating that during the articulation of the vowels no air escaped through the nose. Contrast this with the oral and nasal

tracings of the final segments of these nominals which are all nasals. The oral tracing shows a straight line indicating the shutting off of the oral passage of air, whereas the nasal tracings show regular wave forms.

8.3.27 In polysyllabic nominals ending in a nasal consonant and in which there is no other preceding nasal consonant the vowel in the final syllable is not nasalized. See kymograms 61 - 63 which are of the nominals cippam [sip:əm] 'bundle', paṭṭam [pʌṭ:əm] 'nickname' and pakkam [pʌk:əm] 'side' respectively. Nasal tracings corresponding to the final nasal segment alone show regular wave forms whereas the nasal tracings corresponding to the preceding vowel in each case show no such wave forms.

8.3.28 The vowels in nominals in which there are no nasal consonants at all are characterized by the absence of nasalization as revealed by kymograms 64 - 66. These are of the nominals tavaḷe [tʌʋʌḷɛ] 'frog', paati [pa:ɔi] 'half' and skuuṭar [sku:ṭ:ər] 'scooter' respectively. None of these nominals has a nasal consonant and the nasal tracings of these kymograms show a straight line from the beginning till the end of the utterance revealing that no air has escaped through the nose during the pronunciation of these utterances.

8.3.29 All the above kymograms show that in the nominals in Jaffna Tamil, nasalization as a feature of the syllable

is evident only in those syllables in which vowels are preceded by a nasal consonant. Syllables in which a nasal consonant follows a vowel are not characterized by this feature of nasalization.

(6) Tap and Trill Articulations

8.3.30 Attention is invited to chapter 1, subsection 1.19.2 wherein it has been stated that in the writer's speech [ɽ] and [r] are in free variation. Several kymograms were taken to ascertain whether orthographic ṛ is always [ɽ] in speech and orthographic ṛ̣ is always [r] in speech. The experimental study revealed that there is no one-to-one relationship between the two orthographic symbols and the two sounds in question. Kymogram 34 is of the expression avetaaRave [ʌθəða:ɽʌθə] 'she gives' which has an orthographic ṛ̣. The mouth tracing corresponding to this shows a sudden dip in the air flow followed by a rise, which is characteristic of the articulation of a single tap [ɽ]. Kymograms 67 - 69 are of the nominals are [ʌɽɛ] 'half', murukku [muruk:u] 'name of a tree' and aruvaal [aruθa:ɽ] 'sickle' respectively. All these have an orthographic ṛ̣ which are all [ɽ] in speech as revealed by the mouth tracings of these three kymograms. Kymograms 70 - 72 are of the nominals aRe [aɽɛ] 'room', muRukku [muruk:u] 'an eatable' and aRuvaal [aruθa:ɽ] 'accursed be her' respectively. All

these nominals have an orthographic \dot{r} . These are all [r] in speech. This is shown by the mouth tracings of these kymograms which have two dips and two rises in the air flow corresponding to the segment in question. But kymograms 73 - 75 reveal that [ɾ] and [r] are free variants. Kymogram 73 is of the nominal murukku 'name of a tree' which has an orthographic \dot{r} , but which is [r] in speech. Similarly one sees in kymogram 74 which is of the nominal are 'half', orthographic \dot{r} is [r] in speech. Kymogram 75 is of the nominal kaReyaan [kaɾeja:n] 'white ant'. Here one sees orthographic \dot{r} as [ɾ] in speech, i.e., it is not enough simply to base phonological statements on an analysis of orthographic practice.

8.4

SPECTROGRAPHY

8.4.1 Spectrography was used just to verify the data arrived at from kymograms as far as the duration of intervocalic voiceless stops is concerned. Several kymograms were taken from which the duration of intervocalic voiceless stops was measured. On the basis of this kymographic study, it was stated that intervocalic voiceless stops are very long if preceded by a short vowel and less so if preceded by a long vowel (See 8.3.15 and 8.3.16). This feature was checked from spectrograms as well.

8.4.2

The instrument used was the Sonograph

manufactured by Messrs. Kay Electric Company, New York. All the spectrograms reproduced in this thesis are wide band spectrograms, showing time along the horizontal axis and frequency in cps along the vertical axis. Along the horizontal axis, five inches on the spectrogram is equivalent to one second. On the vertical axis, frequency is shown up to 4000 cps. The spectrograms calibrated in such a way that frequency at the rate of 500 cps per every half inch is marked by a dark bar on each end of the paper along the vertical axis.

The spectrograms are reproduced in the next five pages.



Sem. 1 topri [topri] 'hat'

Sem. 2 appri [appri] 'apple'

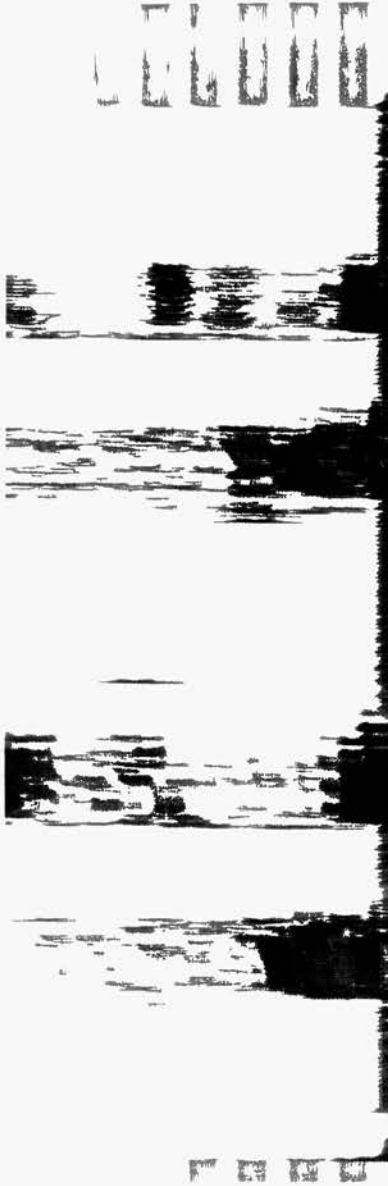
TYPE B/AS SONAGRAMS KAY ELEMETRICS CO. PINE BROOK, N. J.



Sem. 3 kappu [kappu] 'pillar'

Sem. 4 kaappu [kaappu] 'barile'

TYPE B/SS SONOGRAMS KAY ELEMETRICS CO. PINE BROOK N. J.



Sem. 5 [patti] 'flower bed'

Sem. 6 [kastu] 'wind'

TYPE B/SS SONOGRAMS KAY ELEMETRICS CO. PINE BROOK N. J.



Sem. 7 [katti] 'log'

Sem. 8 [satti] 'vent'



Sgm. 9 ce [i] [se] [i] [i]
'member of the merchant caste'

Sgm. 10 cotti [etoi]
'that which is not straight'



Sgm. 11 ta [i] [tə] [i] [i] 'ola sorom'

Sgm. 12 ka [i] [kə] [i] [i] 'solid'

TYPE B/65 SONAGRAM® KAY ELEMETRICS CO. PINE BROOK N. J.



Sgm. 13 $va \left[\begin{smallmatrix} 0 & 1 \\ 1 & 1 \end{smallmatrix} \right] [0 & 1 : i]$ 'interest'

Sgm. 14 $ma \left[\begin{smallmatrix} 1 & 1 \\ 1 & 1 \end{smallmatrix} \right] [m & 1 : i]$ 'moran'

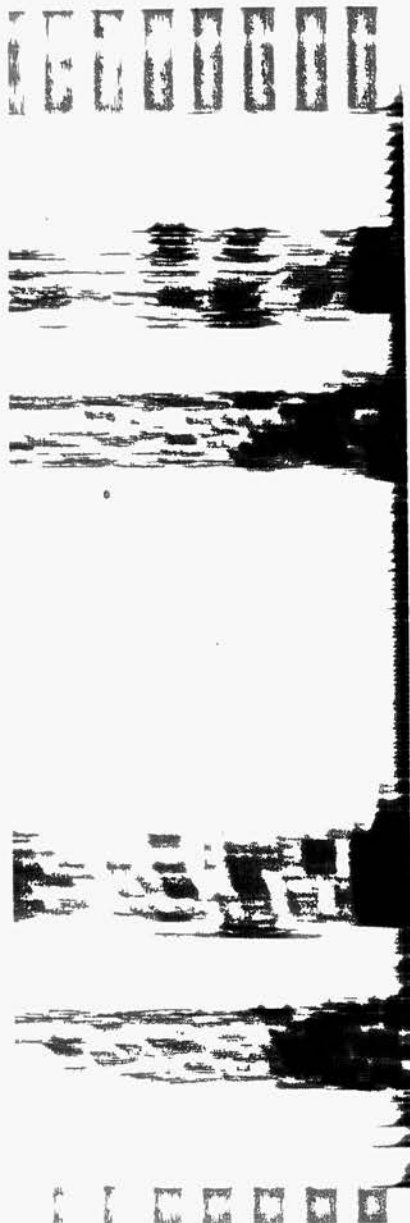
TYPE B/65 SONAGRAM® KAY ELEMETRICS CO. PINE BROOK N. J.



Sgm. 15 $vi \left[\begin{smallmatrix} 0 & 1 \\ 1 & 1 \end{smallmatrix} \right] [0 & 1 : a]$ 'bionomh'

Sgm. 16 $ku \left[\begin{smallmatrix} 0 & 1 \\ 1 & 1 \end{smallmatrix} \right] [ku : a]$ 'whooping cough'

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Sgm. 17 vauku [uɑ:u] 'pledge'

Sgm. 18 maaku [ma:ku] 'tongue'

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Sgm. 19 apam [a:pa] 'border'

Sgm. 20 maaku [ma:ku] 'areanut'

Discussion of Spectrograms

8.9.3 The spectrograms show the formant frequencies of speech sounds, and the closure phase of a voiceless stop is indicated by a blank space. The duration of voiceless stops in intervocalic position was measured from spectrograms and the results are tabulated below.

8.4.4

Stop and word used	Duration in Milliseconds	
	Preceded by a short vowel	Preceded by a long vowel
appam [ʌp:əɪ] 'hopper'	200	
toppi [top:i] 'hat'	"	
appi [ʌp:i] 'apple'	210	
kappu [kʌp:w] 'pillar'	220	
kaappu [ka:p:w] 'bangle'		150
paatti [pa:t:i] 'flower bed'		170
kaattu [ka:t:w] 'wind'		170
kutti [kut:i] 'log'	"	
catti [sat:i] 'vomit'	210	
cotti [sot:i] 'that which which is not straight'	220	
ceṭṭi [seṭ:i] 'member of the merchant caste'	240	
taṭṭi [tʌṭ:i] 'ola screen'	240	

kaʈʈi [kʌʈ:i]	'solid'	240
vaʈʈi [ʋʌʈ:i]	'interest'	220
maʈʈi [mʌʈ:i]	'moron'	230
vikkal [ʋik:əl]	'hiccough'	200
kukkal [kuk:əl]	'whooping cough'	180
vaakku [ʋa:k:w]	'pledge'	140
naakku [na:k:w]	'tongue'	130
paakku [pa:k:w]	'arecanut'	140

TABLE 8.3

8.4.5 These results also show that the duration of intervocalic voiceless stops is longer when preceded by a short vowel than when preceded by a long vowel.

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